THE MOPLAH REBELLION, 1921

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BY

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CALICUT, MALABAR.

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THE MOPLAH REBELLION, 1921

C. Gopalan Nair

Foreword

"Who can deny that the British Government in India leaves much to be desired? It has many defects and short-comings needing amendments and corrections. In spite of all their short-comings, I make bold to challenge any honest man to lay his hand on his heart and declare, calling God Almighty to witness, that we had, during historic times, any Government or a system of Government, which assured to the people anything approximating the security of life and property that we have enjoyed during the last century and a half, the general sense of personal freedom and liberty we now claim as our own, and the even-handed justice meted out to us."

K. U. NARAINA MENON

A TRIBUTE

TO

CAPT. P. McENROY. D. S. O., M. C.

For the conspicuous gallantry displayed by him at Pookkottur on 26th August 1921, on his march to relieve Malappuram, when he, with his small force not exceeding 125 men consisting of the Leinsters and the Special Police fought a pitched battle lasting five hours with a rebel horde of about 4,000 Moplah fanatics and routed them, inflicting 400 casualties among them. His success saved a difficult situation during the first week of the Moplah rebellion when Government forces were not available in sufficient numbers to check the rebellion, and also saved the Ernad Hindus from wholesale conversion to Moslem faith. On behalf of myself and my Hindu countrymen of Malabar, I offer to the *HERO of POOKKOTUR* and his small force our grateful thanks for their services on that memorable day.

Calicut, 1st May, 1923

C. GOPALAN NAIR

A letter

Florican, Calicut, 20-2-23.

DEAR MR. GOPALAN NAIR,

I have read your history of the Moplah Rebellion with great interest. I must congratulate you upon your industry in bringing together a great mass of material not easily accessible and upon the completeness and fairness with which you have set down the facts. I do not think that without access to official records which are still confidential you could have performed your task more satisfactorily.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) R. H. ELLIS.

PREFACE

As a pensioner, with ample leisure, at my disposal, I undertook the task of compiling the news, published from time to time in the newspapers regarding the Moplah rebellion which broke out at Tirurangadi on 20th August 1921, and with great diffidence, I venture to place before the public the account written by me, in the hope that this attempt at history writing will be appreciated by the public.

The book has no pretensions to originality; it is simply a collection of materials arranged under different heads, from which the course of events during the period of insurrection might be followed.

It has no pretensions to be a history; it is simply a chronicle of events, a sketchy view based on the articles and news in the *Madras Mail* and the *West Coast Spectator*, to both of whom my acknowledgments are due. I am also indebted to the *West Coast Reformer* for Mr. Gandhi's Speech on 18th August 1920.

To a non-official, as I am at present, without access to official records, the chapter on 'military operations' presented great difficulty. No information was available except the very concise Press Communiques, giving information, but no details, of engagements between the Government Forces and the rebels. These communiques were sometimes issued on the day the events took place, often times on the next day, and in some instances on the third day, so that I was not able, in spite of all my attempts, to fix the exact date of the occurrences in some cases. On pages 39 to 57 the communiques have been copied as they are, and the date at the beginning of each para generally represents the date of the communiques except where the dates of occurrence have been specifically mentioned. This explanation has become necessary in view of the impossibility to secure correct information until the official history is published. The facts have been correctly stated as published.

I have been able to secure photos illustrating different aspects of the rebellion, but must express my great disappointment that, in spite of all attempts, I was not able to secure a photo of Capt. McEnroy, the hero of Pookkotur.

I have to thank the Norman Printing Bureau for the printing and the get up of the book.

With these remarks, I place the book before the public and append hereto the opinion of R. H. Ellis, Esq., I. C. S., who was the Collector and District Magistrate of Malabar from 27th January 1922 to 12th December '22.

CALICUT, 1st May 1923

C. GOPALAN NAIR

REFUGEES—MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES.

CHAPTER I : THE MOPLAH REBELLION1

MALABAR

This District consists of the following Taluks :— 1. Chirakkal; 2. Kottayam; 3. Kurumbranad; 4. Wynad; 5. Calicut; 6. Ernad; 7. Walluvanad; 8. Ponnani; 9. Palghat and 10. British Cochin. The boundaries are north, South Kanara; east, Coorg, Mysore, Nilgris and Coimbatore; south, the Cochin State; and west, the Arabian Sea.

Malabar extends from north to south along the coast, a distance of about 150 miles, and lies between North Latitude 10°15' and 12°18' and East Longitude 75°14' and 76°56', the total area being 5,785 sq. miles.

Martial Law was proclaimed in Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponani, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Wynad. Disturbances actually took place in the first four Taluks.

Ernad has an area of 966 sq. miles, contains 94 amsoms[1] and has a population of 401,101—Mussalmans 237,402, Hindus 163,328 and Christians 371. It is a tract made up of hills, clothed with forest, the eastern portion including the valley of Nilambur which produces teak and other timbers. There were disturbances in every amsom of the Taluk.

Calicut has an area of 379 sq. miles and a population of 290,739 persons, 196,435 being Hindus, 88,393 Mussalmans and 576 Christians. Disturbances were confined to 23 of the 65 amsoms in the Taluk.

Walluvanad has an area of 880 sq. miles, with a population of 394,517, Hindus being 259,979, Mussalmans 133,919 and Christians 619. It lies along the foot of the Western Ghats. Out of the 118 amsoms of this taluk, 68 were absorbed in the rebel area.

Ponani has an area of 426 sq. miles and a population of 533252—Hindus 281,155, Mussalmans 229,016 and Christians 23,081. Out of the 121 ansoms

[1] Amsom=Village.

that constitute this Taluk, 35 were absorbed in the rebel area.

THE LEGEND OF KERALA

Parasurama, an incarnation of Vishnu, peopled this country, known as Kerala, with Brahmins from Arya Bhumi in the north and settled them in 64 villages along the coast. These Brahmins are the Nambudiris who for a time carried on the administration of the country by a Council of four members elected by the 64 villages. They found it impossible to maintain the Government, and brought Military Governors, known as Perumals, from the adjoining countries, each Governor being appointed for a period of twelve years, A succession of Governors reigned in Kerala, and the last incumbente known as Cheraman Perumal, reigned for 36 years.

THE FIRST CONVERSION

Muhammadans had gained a footing in Malabar for commercial purposes, and Cheraman Perumal was persuaded by them to embrace the Moslem faith.

"The lofty monarch joins the faithful train And vows at fair Medina's shrine to close His life's mild eve in prayer and sweet repose."

Camoen's *Lusiad*.

The period is, uncertain, but according to the Malabar Manual, it was in August. 825 A. D. that Cheraman sailed for Mecca after dividing his country among his sub-ordinate chieftains. He asked Arab missionaries to proceed to Malabar and propagate the Moslem faith: a party of 15, with, Malik-Ibn-Dinar as their leader, started on this mission, landed at Cranganore, and obtaining permission from the Rulers of the country, built ten mosques, at different, stations in Malabar and South Canara and commenced a career of proselytism, which resulted in the creation of the race known as Moplahs.

FORCIBLE CONVERSION

The race progressed rapidly in numbers from natural causes, as also from conversions and when Sheik-Ibn-Batuta of Tangier's visited Malabar (1342-47 A.D.) he found that Moslem merchants had houses in most parts of the district and were greatly respected. Forcible conversions were then evidently unknown: Hindus were Powerful then. Further, Muhammadanism was then tolerated and under certain circumstances even encouraged, "The Zamorin

of Calicut, who was one of the chief patrons of Arab trade, definitely encouraged conversion in order to man the Arab Ships on which he depended for his aggrandizement and he decreed that, in every family of fishermen, one or more of the male members should be brought up as a Muhammadan." (District Gazetteer). Among the depressed classes of Malabar, there was no real disinclination to embrace the Moslem faith, for the *honour of Islam* neutralised all their former bad qualities and raised them several places socially. These were voluntary conversions.

It was during the Mysorean conquest that forcible conversions were initiated under the orders of Tippu. In March, 1789, a Mysorean force of 19,000 men, with 46 field-pieces, surrounded 2,000 Nayars with their families in an old fort at Kuttipuram, the head-quarters of the Kadathanad Raja's family which the besieged defended for several days. "At last, finding it untenable, they submitted to Tippu's terms which were a voluntary profession of the Muhammadan faith or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native lands. The unhappy captives gave a forced assent, and on the next day, the rite of circumcision was performed on all the males, every individual of both sexes being compelled to close the ceremony by eating beef. This achievement was held out as an example to the other detachments of the army. Christian and Pagan women were forcibly married to Muhammadans." (Malabar Manual)

Tippu had made repeated vows to honour the whole of the people of Malabar with Islam and would have carried out the vow, and Malabar would have been a Moslem country, but for the treaty dated 18th March, 1792, under which Tippu was forced to yield Malabar to the East India Company.

MOPLAH OUTRAGES

Numerous Hindus had taken refuge in Travancore and now came back to enjoy their own again; troubles arose in course of time and, from the records available, we find that for some reason or for no reason, Moplahs in Ernad and Walluvanad now and then started on a career of *Hal Ilakam* (religious frenzy) and killed Hindus, desecrated temples and also forcibly converted the people to the Moslem faith. These outrages never lasted long, and the Moplahs involved in the affair were shot down by the troops or sent out of the country. (Appendix 1.)

Mr. T. L. Strange was appointed as Special Commissioner in Malabar to enquire into the causes of these outrages, and his report (1852) is a clear exposition of the subject.

"It is apparent that in no instance can any outbreak or threat of outbreak

that has risen be attributed to the oppression of tenants by landlords. A great clamour is now raised on this regard, prominently in the southern taluks visited by me, the Moplah population seeking to throw the blame of these outbreaks upon the landlords by thus charging them with being the cause thereof. I have given the subject every attention, and am convinced that though instances may and do arise of individual hardship to a tenant, the general character of the dealings of the Hindu landlords towards their tenantry, whether Moplah or Hindu, is mild, equitable and forbearing. I am further convinced that where stringent measures are taken, the conduct of the tenants is in the vast majority of cases, the cause thereof and that the Moplah tenantry, especially of the Taluks in South Malabar, where the outbreaks have been so common, are very prone to evade their obligations and to resort to false and litigious pleas."

He added, "A feature that has been manifestly common to the whole of these affairs is that they have been one and all marked by the most decided fanaticism, and this, there can be no doubt, has furnished the true incentive to them."

"The Hindus, in the parts where the Outbreaks have been most frequent, stand in such fear of the Moplahs as mostly not to dare to press for their rights against them, and there is many a Moplah tenant who does not pay his rent, and cannot, so imminent are the risks, be evicted. Other injuries are also put up with, uncomplained of." (Malabar Manual).

MOPLAH REBELLION, 1921

The present rebellion which openly broke out on 20th August, 1921, at Tirurangadi, long one of the most fertile breeding grounds of active fanaticism, was entirely different from the ordinary Moplah outrages. The causes have been briefly described by the three eminent judges presiding over the Special Tribunal, Calicut, in the following terms:—

"For the last hundred years at least, the Moplah community has been disgraced from time to time by murderous outrages, as appears from the District Gazetteer. In the past, they have been due to fanaticism. They generally blazed out in the Ernad Taluk, where the Moplahs were for the most part proselytes drawn from the dregs of the Hindu population. These men were miserably poor and hopelessly ignorant, and their untutored minds, were particularly susceptible to the inflammatory teaching that Paradise was to be gained by killing Kaffirs, and the servants of Kaffirs. They would go out on the war-path, killing Hindus, no matter whom, and would be joined by other fanatics, and then seek death in hand-to-hand conflict with the troops.

In some cases, they may have been inspired by hatred of a particular landlord, but no grievance seems to have been really necessary to start them on their wild careers. The Moplahs of Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks have been described as a barbarous and a savage race, and, unhappily, the description seems appropriate at the present day.

But it was not mere fanaticism, it was not agrarian trouble, it was not destitution, that worked on the minds of Ali Musaliar and his followers. The evidence conclusively shows that it was the influence of the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements that drove them to their crime. It is this which distinguishes the present from all previous outbreaks. Their intention was, absurd though it may seem, to subvert the British Government and to substitute a Khilafat Government by force of arms." (Judgment in Case No. 7 of 1921 on the file of the Special Tribunal, Calicut.)

The Khilafat movement was introduced into this happy and peaceful district of Malabar on 28th April, 1920, by a Resolution at the Malabar District Conference, held at Manjeri, the head-quarters of Ernad Taluk.

"This Conference respectfully urges upon His Majesty's Government to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of the Indian Moslems and the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Ministers, and that, in the event of His Majesty's Government failing to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Moslems and the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Ministers, this Conference calls upon the people to adopt a policy of progressive Non-co-operation with the Government, as resolved by the Khilafat Conference held at Madras under the presidency of Moulana Shaukat Ali." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 29th April, 1920).

Mrs. Besant, who attended this Conference, made a splendid speech, protesting against the second part of the Resolution, but she was defeated and the non-co-operation resolution was carried by a large body of Moplahs, who formed the bulk of the audience and belonged to the Ernad Taluk. "There were nearly a thousand delegates at the roughest calculation, most of them being peasants with a large sprinkling of Moplahs coming from every nook and corner of Ernad Taluk in all stages of attire, some of them just come from the plough and the farm." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 29th April, 1920). These were duped by political leaders into passing a resolution on Khilafat, which they did not understand.

The seed was thus sown on 28th April, 1920. If the Conference had been held at any other station outside Ernad Taluk, the Khilafat Resolution would never have been passed. Manjeri was the scene of more than one Moplah outrage, and was the last place where the Conference should have been held. In Ernad Taluk; the Moplahs preponderate and there was nothing

surprising in the passing of the Khilafat Resolution with an overwhelming majority of Moplahs at the Conference.

The next stage was the visit of Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali to Calicut on 18th August, 1920, and their speeches on Khilafat and Non-co-operation (Appendix II) which led to the establishment of Khilafat Committees in Malabar.

The object of the Congress was the attainment of Swaraj by legitimate and peaceful means, and the policy of the Khilafat was 'progressive non-co-operation with the Government with a view to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of the Indian Moslems.' The object of both Congress and Khilafat became identical and that was, to paralyse the Government by means of non-co-operation for the attainment of Swaraj.

The Moplahs were fully agreeable to the Swaraj idea, they knew full well; that, but for the interference of the British between them and the Hindus, a Moslem Swaraj would soon be a *fait accompli*, and now that the Hindus had also joined them, the accomplishment of the object was easy enough by *violence*, Khilafat associations were formed and Swaraj ideas began to spread.

In the beginning, it was not a very serious affair: the Moplah felt it an honour to be called upon to take part in meetings presided over by the Saintly Mahatma, by the Great Moulana, by Barristers, High Court Vakils and other prominent men; he did not well understand the lengthy speeches delivered at meetings; but he felt himself elevated: he grew in importance as a Khilafat member; his Musaliar was the secretary; his Thangal graced the position of chairman of the Khilafat Committee; he rose higher and higher, until he found himself a prominent member of the Hindu-Moslem Brotherhood; working for the attainment of Swaraj, for the salvation of the Khilafat, and of his own country, in which, under the British regime, the Indians were treated as '*coolies*' and '*slaves*.'

Incessant preachings on Khilafat made him think seriously of the movement and of the possibility of a Swaraj: his Thangal and his Musaliar, in whom he had implicit faith, told him of the wrongs suffered by Turkey is at the hands of the white man; the Hindus, whom he hated as Kaffirs, were with him and even the Malabar Nambudiri, the most orthodox and the most conservative Hindu in Malabar, had joined hands with him in favour of the Khilafat. He visited towns and made friends,— Moslem and Hindu,—he learnt new words and expressions; his manners were improved; he began expounding religious theories and explaining Khilafat wrongs and he, the cartman, the labourer or the hewer of wood,—felt a new spirit surging and swelling up in him, so much so that he imagined that the end of the British

Raj was imminent and that his own idealised Khilafat Government would speedily materialise; indeed he contemptuously refused a Sub Magistrate's summons "on the ground that it should be served through the President of the local Khilafat Committee." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 8th February 1921).

Several comparatively monster Khilafat meetings had been held at prominent Moplah centres during the few months immediately anterior to the burst of the incipient and inevitable conflagration of revolt without any interference on the part of the authorities, but now, the District Magistrate felt that the unchecked continuance of such combustible demonstrations of contempt and defiance of constituted authority would result in riot and danger to human life, especially so, as one outcome of the previous meetings was an organised system of intimidation throughout the District. He received information that it was in contemplation to hold a series of meetings in Ernad Taluk, and that there was immediate danger that the feelings of the more ignorant Moplahs would thereby be inflamed against the Government as also against the Hindu Jenmis: he accordingly issued orders on 5th February, 1921, prohibiting all public meetings in Ernad Taluk. (Appendix III).

This was followed shortly after by the visit of Mr. Yakub Hasan, a Khilafat leader of Madras and once a member of the Legislative Council, on 15th February, 1921, for the purpose of addressing Khilafat and Non-co-operation meetings. He was travelling with his wife, and on his way, the very grand arrangements that were made at Tanur for his reception were marred by the order of the District Magistrate, prohibiting the holding of meetings there. And in Calicut, where elaborate arrangements had been made for according him a fitting reception, the District Magistrate served an order on him, prohibiting him from holding and addressing meetings in Calicut. Similar orders were served on Messrs. K. Madhavan Nair, U. Gopala Menon and P. Moideen Koya, conspicuous local Congress and Khilafat leaders and propagandists. They were not willing to obey that order, and on refusal to give security for keeping the peace, were all sent to prison for six months. The report of Mr. Yakub Hasan's visit and his arrest published in the *West Coast Spectator* (Appendix IV), conveys a tolerable idea of the sensation aroused in Calicut. The public mind was seriously disturbed: the Municipal Chairman resigned his office: the Municipal Council, by a resolution condemned the action of the District Magistrate: vakils threw up practice in courts, and hartal was observed. The resentment caused by the treatment meted out to Mr. Yakub Hasan was deep, and all this might have been avoided, had he been stopped at Madras, or had there been a general order of prohibition throughout the District, as had been recommended by the District Magistrate; in either case, the visitor would not have ventured into Calicut at

all.

The subject was discussed before the Legislative Council, Madras, and Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair observed that it was "extremely unfortunate and extremely deplorable that the District Magistrate of Malabar should have thought it fit to exercise these provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and bring trouble not only to himself, but to others, inclusive of the Government." (Legislative Council Discussion, 18th February, 1921, Appendix V). It was seriously questioned by the general public whether, in view of what had already transpired,—Mr. Gandhi's visit and speech in August, 1920, without any disturbance,—(Appendix II) there was necessity for any demonstration of force or any curtailment of the right of public meeting and public speech, at a time when non-violent spirit had already pervaded the masses and there was no intention and no visible disposition to indulge in lawlessness. Whether the District Magistrate was justified or not, an impetus was certainly given to the Khilafat movement, and according to the figures quoted by Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon, Provincial Congress Secretary, in his speech after the release of the "Kerala Patriots", the result of the incarceration was the "formation of 230 Congress Sabhas and the enlistment of several thousands of men as members," (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 18th August, 1921).

On 18th February, before the excitement had abated, Messrs. Rajagopala Chari and K. P. Kesava Menon, leading Congress members, arrived from Madras and a huge crowd assembled at the Railway Station, Calicut to accord them a fitting reception. There was a procession "over two furlongs in extent" which marched to the residence of Mrs. Yakub Hasan and "immediately after it passed through the Puthiyara Road, the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and the Reserves proceeded to the spot and dispersed the crowd." These officers, with the Reserve Police, then proceeded to Mr. Madhavan Nair's house, and the District Magistrate had an interview with Messrs. Rajagopalachari and Kesava Menon. (*West Coast Spectator*, 19th February. 1921.) This demonstration of force might have been necessary for the preservation of peace, but it added to the feeling of excitement and resentment caused by the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others.

There is a fairly general feeling in Malabar that the Yakub Hasan episode was the turning point in the Khilafat movement and that it was from about that period that the attitude of the Khilafatists became decidedly hostile and aggressive. The magistracy were now compelled to prohibit public meetings at different stations in the District and to demand security from those who disobeyed the order of prohibition.

On 26th February, 1921, four Moplahs of Ernad were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to furnish security to abstain from po-

litical meetings and delivering speeches. (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 1st March, 1921). The enquiry caused such local excitement and the Moplahs, enraged at the proceedings, collected in threatening numbers at the Parappanangadi Railway Station, when prisoners, Abu Backer and three others were despatched to Cannanore (Judg. in case No. 7/21).

On 12th March, 1921, four Moplahs at Ponnani were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to furnish security. (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 15th March; 1921).

These and similar proceedings exasperated the Moplahs; every action taken to check the movement was a pin-prick to them; the spirit of antagonism grew day by day; the principle of non-co-operation became defiant; the Khilafat workers were passively aggressive and disobedience to lawful orders became their rule of conduct.

On 22nd March, 1921, there was a big non-co-operation and Khilafat demonstration at Kalpakancherry, Ponnani Taluk, beyond the bounds of the prohibited area. A monster procession was headed by a former Moplah Adhigari[2] who had resigned his post in pursuance of N. C. O. and boycott resolutions. Mr. Kesava Menon, Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, Calicut, presided and said that "Swaraj was the only remedy for the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs. A time might come when they would have to refuse to pay taxes, but by that time, their own organisation must be complete." (*Madras Mail*, November, 16, 1921). Kalpakancherry is an amsom with a population of 6,846 Moplahs, against 957 Hindus, and a speech suggestive of a possible Swaraj and non-payment of taxes was surely dangerous in that locality at that stage of Moplah excitement.

On 30th March, 1921, there was a meeting at which one Abdulla Kutti Musaliar of Vayakkad lectured on Khilafat, in Kizhakoth Amsom, Calicut Taluk. And at a second meeting held the next day at Pannur Mosque, there was some unpleasantness between the Moplahs on one side, and Nayars and Tiyyars, who resented the Khilafat meeting, on the other. Moplahs mustered strong and proceeded to attack the Matom (place of worship) belonging to the Hindu Adhigari of the village. Twenty-six Moplahs were fined and bound over to keep the peace, and, during the hearing of the case at Calicut, the sensation caused was so great that the Divisional Magistrate had to prohibit Khilafat meetings at Calicut, as also within five miles of the Municipality for a period of one month. (Appendix VI.)

The next important development was the Ottapalam incident. At this Station, there were four conferences held on 23rd, 24th and 25th April, 1921. Delegates, volunteers and visitors came in large numbers from different parts

[2] Adhigari=Village Headman.

of the District and the Reserve Police Force, who were on duty, contributed a good deal to the success of the Conference by their presence and non-interference. On the 26th, there was a collision between the Reserve Police and some Khilafat workers.

An Emergency Committee was appointed by the leaders of the Conference to investigate the report on the collision between the police and the Congress and Khilafat workers, and they recorded the opinion, "that the reserve police of Malabar, the local Police of Ottapalam and the superior Police Officers were, before the commencement of the riot, engaged in a criminal conspiracy for the purpose of provoking a breach of peace and violence on the part of non-co-operators, and then using reprisals and finally fixing the responsibility on the movement of non-co-operation."

On the report of the Emergency Committee being brought to the notice of the Government, Mr. R. H. Hitchcock, District Superintendent of Police, was authorised to file a suit for damages against the signatories to this report and the Editor and proprietor of *Hindu* newspaper. (Press Communique dated 4th July, 1921).

A suit was accordingly filed and the Sub-Judge, Calicut, decided it in favour of Mr. Hitchcock, the defendants being ordered to pay damages to him. He recorded a finding that "the assault was committed by the men of the Special Force and that, to that extent, the facts stated in the report are true," but that the charge of conspiracy was groundless. (*West Coast Spectator*, 16th September 1922).

On 25th April, it was resolved, at the District Khilafat Conference, that, "since the Khilafat question cannot be satisfactorily settled without Swaraj, this Conference calls upon the Mussalmans of Kerala, both men and women, over 21 years of age to join the Congress Sabhas in their respective town and villages." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 28th April, 1921).

By June, 1921, Congress Sabhas had increased to a respectable figure in Kerala. Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon published the strength on 11th June, 1921, to be 189 Sabhas and 18,007 members, excluding 38 Sabhas, who had not reported their figures. The Congress had adopted the principle of non-co-operation; Khilafat and non-co-operation movements were indistinguishable; and they were worked as the common platform of the Congress in Malabar. Every Moplah centre had a Khilafat association, with a Moplah president, a Moplah secretary and a majority of Moplah members. The number of such Khilafat committees is not known, but in Case No. 128 of 1922, on the file of the Special Judge, Calicut, it has been mentioned that "there may have been as many as 100 Khilafat Committees formed in the two taluks of Ernad and Ponnani."

At this stage, a religious teacher of Tirurangadi named Ali Musaliar rose

to prominence as a Khilafat leader. He posed as a great leader of the people. Khilafat and non-co-operation meetings were held regularly under Ali Musaliar, and these constant preachings, combined with the resolution passed in the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi last July, led the ignorant Moplahs to believe that the end of the British Government in India was at hand. Ali Musaliar and his lieutenants were making secret preparations for active and direct hostility against the British Government. News was spread that the Amir of Afghanistan was about to invade India and, with the assistance of Gandhi and Ali Brothers, would establish the Khilafat rule in the country. Khilafat volunteers were recruited and made to swear on the Holy Koran that they would be ready to die for the cause of the Khilafat. Ali Musaliar also made his volunteer corps parade throughout the locality, armed and in their uniforms, and such demonstrations added to the strength of this mischievous movement." (Public Prosecutor's speech, *West Coast Spectator*, October 6, 1921).

On 8th June, Ramzan Day, Ali Musaliar headed a procession of 300 to 400 Khilafat Volunteers, who were mostly dressed in Khaki and had swords, and went from Kizhekkepalli Mosque to the compound next to the public offices at Tirurangadi, where Moplahs killed in one of the outbreaks of the last century were buried. There they offered prayers. These graves were a prohibited place of meeting and such prayers were only offered before an outbreak and, in the present instance, it was done for the success of the Khilafat cause, (Judgement in Case No. 7/21).

On the 18th of that month, the Deputy Superintendent of Police visited Tirurangadi to interview, Ali Musaliar. The latter met him with a mob of 600 Moplahs, among whom were 50 Khilafat volunteers wearing uniforms and emblems—carrying knives in sheaths.

On the 22nd July, there was a Khilafat gathering at Tirurangadi, were 15,000 men were computed to be present. Over 100 volunteers in uniform kept discipline and order throughout and Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon delivered a speech, laying "emphasis on non-violence and congratulating the townsmen, who were the second in Kerala to send her share of men to the Central Jail for the cause." (*West Coast Spectator*, 23rd July, 1922).

The beginnings of the future Khilafat army were in the making, and, at an anti-non-co-operation Meeting held at Ponnani on 24th July to counteract the effects of the Khilafat agitation, Ali Musaliar, "turned up with his volunteer force of about 50 to 100 volunteers armed with big Khilafat knives and clad in Khilafat uniform, marching under a red flag, with shouts of *Allah-Ho-Akbar*. The volústeers rushed the Police in the bazaar."(Judgement in Case No. 7/21).

The storm was brewing; volunteers, *i. e.*, "unpaid soldiers meant to fight

when occasion arises in support of the cause for which they were enrolled" had been enlisted. (Judgement in Case No. 7/21): they were armed with big knives and were marching with their leaders to attend public meetings: they were actually met by the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Tirurangadi and Ponnani, and no doubt, the same preparations were going on at other Moplah stations.

A week after the Ponnani meeting, the first signs of the impending trouble and the first indications of the existence of a more or less elaborately organised movement for the defiance and overthrow of constituted authority rudely revealed themselves at the village of Pookotur, which lies within the influence of that fanatical portion of East Ernad whereof the Mausoleum of the Malappuram *Saidakkal* (Malappuram martyrs) is the radiating point. The house of V. Mohammad, the local Khilafat Secretary and close associate of Ali Musaliar, was searched by the Police for a gun alleged to have been stolen from the Pookotur Palace of the Nilambur Tirumulpads, and this gave the Moplahs the opportunity, for which they were waiting, of asserting the authority and force of the Khilafat movement. On the pretext that the search was unjust and uncalled for, a crowd of several hundreds of Moplahs, armed with knives, swords and spears, collected with astounding rapidity and advanced on the Palace. It transpired that they had been summoned from various neighbouring and outlying villages by a tocsin of drums beaten in local and neighbouring mosques. They levied blackmail from the landlord on threat of murder and also threatened to murder the Circle Inspector of Police, Mr. M. Narayana Menon, now Deputy Superintendent of Police, who recognised the necessity of dealing tactfully with a situation, which, if allowed to get out of hand, would precipitate a general conflagration, more so as Moplah women, with prayer beads moved among the excited throngs of their menfolk, heartening and urging on the latter. The Inspector enlisted the services of Kunhi Koya Thangal, President of the Khilafat Committee, Malappuram, through whose interposition the Moplahs were pacified, for the time being at any rate.“ Nothing in the way of British administration, such as collection of taxes, serving of summons, etc., could be done there" (Police Inspector's deposition, *West Coast Spectator*, 8th October, 1921.)

Concerning this Pookotur incident, there have been allegations in some of the newspapers that it was due solely to agrarian discontent, and certain remarks of the Elaya Tirumulpad, now the Senior, lent colour to this view. (Appendix VII.)

Had V. Mohammad, a person of obscure status, been merely the ordinary tenant he was, without Khilafat insignia and leanings, a search of his house by the Police would have been attended by no outburst of resentment. But as a prominent Khilafat official, wielding a measure of influence chiefly among

the bigotted and untutored masses of his co-religionists, with his prestige to maintain amongst his fellow-workers of the Khilafat world, and having imbibed the spirit of independence, or rather contempt for constituted authority that is bred in the Khilafat movement, V. Mohammad felt the Police search to be a deliberate insult flung by the Police and the Manager Tirumulpad in the very face of the Khilafat cause, and being, moreover, in a position where his party were much the stronger, numerically and physically, (Moplahs aud Hindus number 852 and 437 respectively in Pookotur Desom,[3] he believed that he could with impunity not only defy his landlord, but snap his fingers in the face of the authorities. The old President of the Khilafat Committee of Malappuram temporarily eased the situation by a compromise which, nevertheless, showed clearly the trend of the Khilafat movement, *i. e.*, defiance of constituted authority, non-co-operation and Swaraj.

No evidence has yet been forthcoming to warrant the allegation regarding agrarian discontent, but it would appear that there was some trouble—What it was, it is not possible to say—between the Pookotur Moplahs and the Manager Tirumulpad of the Pookotur Estate. This lack of cordiality was aggravated by the Police search instituted at the instance of the Manager, and V. Mohammad exploited the Khilafat movement and the fractious temper of his co-religionists to wreak vengeance. The Moplahs demanded "their wages at 9 o'clock at night, threatened the manager and became very turbulent" (Appendix VII) and in this jungly, remote and fanatical hamlet of Pookotur, the civil administration practically ceased to function from 2nd August, 1921.

Never before, since the cession of the District by Tippu of Mysore in 1792 to the East India Company, had such a situation arisen in this District and a general impression quickly spread among the short-sighted and bigotted sections of Moplahs that they had gained a yictory over the British Government.

Prompt action was necessary. The *West Coast Spectator* of 9th August, 1921, sounded the following warning. "Even though the riot is averted for the present, it is feared that the Muhammadan fury may break out at any moment and assume dangerous proportions. Immediate attention of the Government is invited to the matter."

Another equally solemn message was given in a letter dated 13th August published in the *Madras Mail* of the 15th idem from its representative in Malabar :—"Although the situation has quieted, the atmosphere is still electric and I learn, that motor cars going along the Malappuram road are held up and examined. A few days ago, a car occupied by a couple of well-known Moplah merchants of those parts, was stoned, and it is significant that

[3] Desam=Part of an Amsom or Village.

these gentlemen are known to disapprove of the Khilafat agitation. As may readily be inferred, the Hindu inhabitants of Pookotur and its environs are continuing to experience a feeling of insecurity. All the inmates of a Nambudiri Illom[4] situated near the Kovilagam[5] have been removed to Calicut, and, perhaps, this measure of prudence was justified by the circumstance that a number of the assembled Moplahs visited the Illom and left the richer by a considerable quantity of paddy and some ready money. Hindu blacksmiths of the locality are being intimidated into making swords and knives, a good many of these out of carpenters' saws." Before these warnings had been sounded in the Press, the local Police would presumably have reported to the authorities about the preparations made by the Moplahs.

There is no information available to the public as to what action was taken, but it can hardly be supposed that the authorities would remain idle in the face of the warnings received by them. A statement was however made in the *Madras Mail* of 22nd August, 1921, that the District Magistrate had 'set the law in motion and summoned some of those implicated in the crime to answer a charge under the Security Sections and that these Moplahs refused to appear.'

On 17th August, 1921, Messrs. K. Madhavan Nair, U. Gopala Menon and P. Moideen Koya arrived in Calicut on their release from the Central Jail. They were taken in procession by the main roads by the side of the Collector's Office to the beach, where a mass meeting was held, presided over by Mr. Kunhi Koya Thangal, President of a Khilafat Committee. An address was presented and speeches followed.

It was a proud day for the movement; the Calicut beach became consecrated to the spirit of Non-co-operation : it had witnessed the meeting presided over by Mr. Gandhi on 18th August, 1920, and it witnessed the meeting of the "Kerala Patriots" a year later on the 17th August, 1921. It would tickle the vanity of an ordinary human being to be thus honoured by the towns people under the very nose of the District Magistrate, who had awarded the sentence of imprisonment.

There was no disturbance, however, and, in the words of the *West Coast Spectator*, dated 18th August, 1921 :—"There was not less than 15,000 people who seemed to have been stimulated by one ambition, one feeling, one spirit. In spite of the huge nature of the crowd, there was sombre tranquility which indicated their desire to act in unison in any common object. A special feature of the large crowd was the wearing of Khaddar cloths and Gandhi caps. Hindus and Mussalmans looked alike in this costume."

[4] lllom=Nambudiri residence.

[5] Kovilagam=Palace.

The Unity was perfect. It was 5 P. M. on the 17th August, 1921. Who among the crowd was able to forsee what the third day would bring?

The Hindu believed in Hindu-Moslem unity and never dreamed of a day when the Moslem would turn against him: the Moplah had no such delusion: he wanted Moslem Swaraj: he worked for it: he was ready for a general rising and bided his time. An opportunity presented itself when the District Magistrate, in the lawful discharge of his duties, proceeded to Tirurangadi for the arrest of the Khilafat leader, Ali Musaliar, and others. His arrival was the signal for a general insurrection. The Tirurangadi revolutionary leaders despatched runners to neighbouring and outlying villages to summon their Khilafat followings to their aid: false rumours were spread that the famous Mambram Mosque was tazed to the ground: and armed rabbles, some bearing aloft Khilafat standards, soon came swarming in. The events of the day—20th August—are summarised in the following Press Communique, dated 26th August, 1921 :—

"The District Magistrate has received information that a number of war-knives were in existence in Tirurangadi in contravention of the Malabar Offensive Weapons Act XX of 1854. It was also necessary to arrest for incitement to outrage certain persons in Tirurangadi, under Section 8 of the Moplah Outrages Act. Anticipating that a resistance would be made, a requisition was made for a detachment of British troops to support the police and the party arrived at Tirurangadi, before dawn, on the 20th August. Searches were made and three men arrested, and a small party of Reserve Police left behind to continue the search for the absent warrantees, The Kizhekkepalli Mosque was entered by Moplah Police Officers, who removed their boots before entering the Mosque. The Mambram Mosque, which is on the other side of the river, was not approached by anybody.

Between the hours 11-30 and 2 P. M., a determined attack was made from two sides on the force of Police and troops by armed bands coming from Tanur, Parappanangadi and adjoining amsoms on the west, and from Tirurangadi and amsoms on the east, as far as Ponmala and Kottakal. The attacks were beaten off, but two officers were surrounded and butchered by the mob. The force stayed the night at Tirurangadi, as, by this time, the Railway Station at Parappanangadi had been wrecked and in the morning marched to Parappanangadi and thence along the Railway line to Feroke, being attacked constantly by armed Moplahs on the way for the first three miles. The railway line had already been cut in several places, as far as Feroke."

At Feroke, the train was waiting, and the District Magistrate and party entrained at 10 P. M. and arrived at Calicut at midnight. On Monday morning, (22nd August), the Officer Commanding, Malabar Area, was require to

take charge of Calicut.

The communique continues, "This attempt to make searches and arrests under legal warrants in due conformity with the law has been a signal for an outburst of fanaticism throughout Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani directed first against European Officials and Non-officials and latterly against Hindu Jenmis[6] and others. Public Offices have been looted everywhere, Manast[7] and Kovilagams pillaged, Hindus murdered or forcibly converted, and the line cut to an extent, regarding which there is no information."

The storm had burst with a vengeance. Civil administration came to a standstill: the sub-treasuries in the rebellion area were looted and lakhs of rupees carried away: public buildings and records were burnt: Munsiffs, Magistrates, and Police Officers had to seek refuge elsewhere: Police Officials were overwhelmed by rebel hordes and had to surrender their arms: Hindu Village Officials had left their villages; and, eventually, the train traffic stopped for a week between Shoranur and Calicut. Murders, dacoities, forced conversions and outrages on Hindu women became the order of the day. Hindu refugees in thousands poured into Calicut, Palghat, the Cochin State, and other places wending their weary way over hills and through jungles for safety from the lust and savagery of the Moplahs.

[6] Jenmis=Landlords.

[7] Mana=Nambudiri residence.

Mother weeping over the fate of her children forcibly converted.

It was a rude shock to the Non-co-operators: immediately on hearing the news of the rebellion, Messrs. K. P. Kesava Menon and U. Gopala Menon proceeded to Ernad and advised the Moplahs to abandon their rebellious movement: but these persuasions proved wholly futile. Mr. K. Madhavan Nair, who had gone on to Malappuram immediately after his release from Cannanore, also vainly endeavoured to stem the tide of the rebellion.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY A DREAM!

The question may well be asked why the Unity that had been so well demonstrated for more than a year should have received so stunning a blow.

Well, the truth is there was an artificial, constrained display of affection on the part of Moplahs towards Hindus, especially towards those who were in favour of the Khilafat movement, in view of the new idea of Hindu-Moslem unity: the latter deemed it their duty to foster that affection; for the purpose of obtaining Swaraj, and the better classes among the Moplahs must have sincerely hoped for that unity and must have honestly regretted the rebellion. The Ernad Moplah had not the refinement or culture, even enough mental capacity, to understand the ideal placed before him by Mr. Gandhi.

In the realms of industry, the Moplah has no rival: his good qualities in ordinary life are admitted: during this rebellion, several instances have occurred of Moplahs having helped Hindus to escape, but individual instances do not prove the rule: and it is a lesson that the Hindus have now learnt that once the Moplah is master of the situation, he cares for no one: his religious frenzy impels him to convert and his plundering propensities impel him to loot.

On 17th August, the unity was, to all appearance, perfect and within three days, the Moplahs rose in arms against the British Government, a purely Khilafat Movement, and all the evil passions that had been curbed through the preachings of Mr. Gandhi found vent in wholesale murder, loot and rapine, and the Ernad Moplah, ignorant, illiterate, and fanatical, stood exposed in all the terrible characteristics of his savage nature.

It was an organised rising; the rebels had manufactured war-knives and swords: collected firearms and swords from Hindu houses: also from Police stations: they wrecked the rail-road and cut telegraph lines, destroyed bridges, felled trees and blocked roads, dug trenches and lay in ambush to attack the passing troops: in fact, they acted as men who had gained some little knowledge of modern war-fare, having learned these tactics from disbanded sepoys, who had seen service in Mesopotamia and who, having joined the rebels, instructed these Khilafat soldiery as to how they should proceed.

There was significance in the Tirur incident, when a Moplah, an ex-sepoy, insisted on two soldiers surrendering the bolts of their rifles along with the latter. But "had a company or two of a British regiment been at hand near the centre of disturbance, we should have been spared most of these atrocities, and the official, who is chiefly to blame for all this trouble, is the one, who, to save a few rupees, did away sometime ago with Malappuram as a Military station." (Mr. L. E. Kirwan's letter, dated 2nd September, 1921 in the *Madras Mail*).

CHAPTER II : MILITARY OPERATIONS

In normal times, for several years past, the regular Military Garrison of Malabar consisted of a detachment of British Infantry stationed at Calicut, and another at Malappuram. The Malappuram detachment served as a' check on outbursts of Moplah fanaticism and its services were often required to suppress Moplah outrages. Malappuram had recently been abolished as a military station and the regular Military Garrison in the District was thus reduced to the Half-Company at Calicut. The total strength of the Army in India did not allow of any greater provision being made for the District. But at this time, there was also an Indian Battalion at Cannanore.

A few days before the burst of the rebellion, the half company of the Second Leinster Regiment at Calicut had, at the request of the Madras Government, been reinforced by three platoons of the same unit from Madras, making the total strength one-and-a-half Company or something under 200 rifles. The civil authorities requested military aid for a search of concealed arms at Tirurangadi; about three platoons of the Calicut garrison accompanied them, of whom on platoon was sent forward to Malappuram to secure that place. The District Magistrate arrived at Tirurangadi in the early morning of Saturday, the 20th August, accompanied by the remaining platoons of the Leinster Regiment and a body of Special Police. The search was over by about 10 A. M., and three men were arrested. At quarter to twelve, information was received that a crowd of 2000 Moplahs from Tanur had come by train to Parappanangadi and were advancing on Tirurangadi. It was decided to go at once and meet the mob. The column consisted of Leinsters and the Reserve Poliçe, led by Messrs, Mainwaring and Hitchcock on the left, and Messrs. Lancaster and Amoo Sahib on the right, with the Malappuram Special Force in the rear. At about 12-30, a mile and a half or so from Tirurangadi, the column encountered a mob of Moplahs, between 2,000 and 3,000 with a Khilafat flag in front, and without taking the slightest notice of the order to disperse. The Reserve Police charged with fixed bayonets, but the

Moplans brought their clubs down on the bayonets and rifle barrels. A fight ensued between the front ranks of the two forces, a constable had his head cut open, Mr. Lancaster received a blow on his head, and in self defence the Government party fired without waiting for the word of command. Nine rebels were killed, and three, including the standard bearer, were wounded, The mob began to retreat, but the leader, Kunhi Kadir, Khilafat Secretary at Tanur, was arrested with 40 other Moplahs. The column returned to Tirurangadi.

At this station, a small party consisting of Leinsters and the Police had been left to guard the camp, with Lieut. W. R. Johnstone and Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent. A mob estimated at 2000, advancing from another direction, attacked this party and were dispersed with Lewis guns and magazine fire, but the two officers, who had advanced towards the mob for a parley, and Head Constable Moideen, who acted as interpreter, were surrounded and murdered by the rebels. Their bodies were lying on the road terribly mutilated and hacked and were recovered by the District Magistrate and his party. They stopped at Tirurangadi Camp apprehending an attack from the Moplahs, who were assembled in the Tirurangadi Mosque. The District Magistrate handed over the situation at 7 P. M. to the Officer Commanding as beyond civil powers.

There was no attack during the night. It was impossible however, to remain there any longer, without rations and without communications and in the face of vastly superior numbers, so the next morning, Sunday the 21st, at 8-30 A. M., after burying the dead, the District Magistrate and party marched back to Parappanangadi. The railway station and the Post Office had been sacked and the telegraph lines cut. At 2 P. M., the column began to march along the railway for Kadalundi, beating off several attacks on both flanks, front and rear, during the first three miles. The railway line had been cut in several places, with the obvious intention of isolating the column. From Kadalundi, they marched direct to Feroke, where the train was waiting, which took the column back to Calicut by midnight.

In the meantime, the Railway from Calicut towards Podanur was attacked and seriously damaged in so many places as to put it completely out of action. Civil rebellion and disorder broke out and spread quickly and widely. The Military Commander at Calicut, at the request of the Civil Authorities, established a temporary Military regime for the safe-guarding of life and property and the restoration of law and order.

The G. O. C., Madras District, at the request of the Madras Government, organised the following force to restore railway communication with Calicut and to re-establish law and order in the affected areas: J. Squadron of the Queen's Bays, one section Royal Field Artillery, and the 2nd Battalion,

Dorset Regiment, and subsequently one company of the 64th Pioneers.

Colonel E. T. Humphreys was appointed Military Commander by Superior Military Authority and took charge on the 22nd August, and on the same day the force organised at Bangalore commenced its move towards Malabar. Mr. F. B. Evans. I. C. S., joined the Military Commander on 25th August as Civil Adviser.

The Military Officer Commanding at Calicut had rendered that place secure and H. M. S. Comus arrived off the port and landed a detachment of the ship's company. In the circumstances, it was possible to detach a small force to the relief of Malappuram via Kundotti. The Moplah rebels were prepared to dispute the passage. At Pookotur, the detachment of Leinsters and Special Police Force was attacked by a large body of Moplah rebels at about 11 A. M. on 26th August. They were well-armed with carbines captured from Police stations they had looted, as well as with some sporting rifles, swords and warknives. They displayed their traditional ferocity and eagerness for death, and after five hours' fighting were beaten off, their casualties being estimated at 400 killed. Two British soldiers were killed; and an officer and seven men were wounded. Mr. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was shot and died shortly afterwards. The detachment marched into Malappuram and found all safe and well.

The Malappuram Garrison was brought back to Calicut. Detachments of Auxiliary Force had also been mobilised at Calicut, and a detachment of the 83rd Walajah Light Infantry was moved into Calicut. At the same time, repairs to the railway were proceeded with southwards from Calicut by the Calicut Force, and westward from Shoranur, by the Bangalore Force. Through communication was restored on August 28th. From this date, therefore, the troops were able to commence the restoration of order in the affected areas away from the Railway line, a task which had not been possible, until through communication had been re-established.

On 29th August, Martial Law was proclaimed in the Taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynad.

Ali Musaliar, Khilafat leader, installed on 22nd August 1921, as "Ali Raja", was still in Tirurangadi with a strong rebel force, and a British Column marched towards that station which they reached on 30th August. They found the Kizhekkepalli Mosque held by rebels. The Mosque was surrounded, but no assault was made as it was desired to spare the mosque. At 9-15 A. M., on 31st August, the rebels opened fire from the Mosque, rushed out and charged the troops. Twenty-four rebels were killed, and 38 prisoners surrendered. The prisoners included Ali Musaliar and other rebel leaders. Sixteen firearms, including 12 Police Rifles and carbines, and a number of swords, were recovered.

With the capture of Ali Musaliar on 31st August ends the first act of the drama. During these ten days, 20th to 31st, Hindu Malabar lay helpless at the feet of the Moplah rebels: it was a tale of woe to every Hindu family: it was destruction of every public building and of every temple: it was murder of Europeans, whenever possible and sufficient Government forces were not available until the 28th to cope with the situation. The one bright light was the Pookotur battle, the effect of which was the salvation of the Ernad Hindus. It had been arranged that on 26th August, Friday, after the Jama prayer, all the Hindus in Manjeri and the neighbouring villages should be brought into the Mosques and converted to the Moslem faith: caps, dresses, and jackets were all ready for distribution among the converts, but the idea of wholesale conversion had to be given up at the time, in consequence of the Pookotur Battle.

The next stage of Military operations extends over a comparatively long period: it began with the despatch of troops for the restoration of order.

The base of operations was Tirur. Colonel Humphreys Military Commander, Mr. Evans, Civil adviser, and Mr. Hitchcock, District Superintendent of Police, who acted as Intelligence officer and was also in command of a force of Police operating under the Military Commander, had their head-quarters at Tirur until October 14th. From that date onwards they transferred their headquarters to Malappuram.

The troops were sent out in different directions for the restoration of order and for the suppression of the rebellion; the process was necessarily long; the area covered was a wide one; it included some difficult country; forests like Pandalur and Nilambur afforded ideal cover for the Moplah rebels and the hilly and jungly tracts on the eastern borders were not favourable for Military operations, while they enabled the Moplahs to elude the troops.

At first, the Moplahs gave open battle, but subsequently, they changed their tactics and relied on ambushes and guerilla warfare, returning to loot and destroy places after troops had left them. They avoided military columns on all occasions except when there was a chance of success.

The following Military units were at one time or other employed in Malabar:—The Leinster, Suffolk, and Dorset regiments, the Queen's Bays, 2/8th and 2/9th Gurkhas, 1/39th Gharwal Rifles, 3/70th Burma Rifles (Chin-Kachins), 83rd Walajabad Light Infantry and ancillary services, such as Sappers and Miners, Poineers, Pack Batteries, Armoured cars, Supply and Transport, Wireless operators, Mechanical Transport and R. A. M.C.

The armed reserves of Calicut and Malappuram at the beginning of the outbreak were 210 strong and, during the rebellion, the force known as the Malabar Special Police was raised in the District and eventually reached a strength of 600. (Legislative Council Interpellations, 14th November 22.)

The movements of the troops, the encounters with the rebels, the casualties, the arrests and the surrenders have been published from time to time in Press Communiques, and it is impossible to condense them into a connected narrative.

The rebellion was at its height in September, October, November and December, 1921, and, during this period, the troops were engaged in pursuing the rebels. A few important events are given below : these are quotations from Communiques published in the papers arranged in chronological order and though not complete in details, will give an idea of the progress of the rebellion and the resistance offered by the rebels.

18th September, 21 :—A party of British soldiers under a British Officer with Mr. Elliot, Superintendent of Police, and a Jamadar were returning to Malappuram via Manjeri in six motor cars after searching a house in Pookotur amsom, where the treasure looted from the Government treasury at Manjeri, was believed to have been secreted, and, on reaching a place known as Neerulul, some shots were fired at them. The motors were on a precipitous road, surrounded by ravines, and when they stopped, and when the troops got down, a Moplah rushed at a soldier and struck him on the face with a knife. Mr. Elliot immediately shot him down with his revolver. Another Moplah, who was making his way from the thick bushes towards the party, was shot down by a soldier. The British Officer and a party then went through the bush with a machine-gun, to see if there were any other Moplahs still hiding there, and were attacked by not less than sixty Moplahs. These men ran out at them, but when troops opened fire, they ran away, leaving six or seven dead. The Jamadar was wounded by a bullet through the hand. After a complete search, the party returned to Malappuram.

19th September 21 :—A small column visited Manjeri and was fired on at long range, but sustained no casualties.

24th September, 21:—The Company of Suffolks operating from Ottapalam reports no opposition and the arrest of 44 rebels.

Major Weldon's column of Dorsets marched from Pandikad to deal with rebels at Nemini and was attacked soon after leaving camp. The casualties are : Other ranks, Dorsets, killed two, wounded one, and one local constable wounded. The houses at Nemini were surrounded. Enemy casualties are one killed, 14 captured, and a number of firearms and swords were also captured. The ambush is believed to bave been planned by the guides who are now under arrest.

Rebels are reported to be still in force round Manjeri estimated at 300. The Pandicad Post reports 300 rebels looting Tuvoor from South and East.

Kunhamad Haji, a leading rebel, is reported to be issuing passes for Rs. 5 each, which every one has to pay before he can go from Nilambur.

24th September 21:—Two platoons, Suffolks, visited Mannarghat, but rebels had left after looting all Hindu shops. This detachment joined rest of Column at Karimpuzha, five miles south-west of Mannarghat. Rebels round Cherpulcheri surrendering and handing in weapons, 233 prisoners taken. Mambad post made 23 arrests and captured some weapons. Detachment, 83rd W. L. I., made 3 arrests north of Edakkulam.

A column reached Nilambur after overcoming some opposition.

27th September 21:—Rebels engaged to-day morning between the triangle Malappuram, Manjeri, and Valluvampuram: a fair number were killed. The operations were fairly successful.

29th September 21:—In the Council of State to-day Mr. Craik, replying to Syed Raza Ali, said that the latest information received by the Government of India is to the effect that the Moplah fighting gang probably total 10,000 strong; that their resistance is becoming stronger and that their programme is based on guerilla warfare, plunder, terrorism, and avoidance of battle. Military operations probably involving the use of increased force and necessitating the strict enforcement of Martial law are therefore likely to be protracted, and it is impossible to forecast the day on which the Martial Law can be withdrawn.

30th September 21 :—A gang of 500 Moplahs engaged a detachment of Suffolk regiment near Kumaramputhur. The Moplah casualties are estimated at 40 or 50 killed.

1st October 21 :—Colonel Herberts and Lieutenant Harvey, the Quarter-Master, with a few soldiers, were on a lorry which was rationing Nilambur. On the way there, they were warned by two Police Constables that rebels were lurking on the road, but they pushed on and, having delivered the rations, were returning by the same road to their posts, when they saw the bodies of the Police men lying on the road with their throats cut. Simultaneously, the lorry party were fired on at close range, resulting in one soldier being killed and Colonel Herberts and Lieut. Harvey being wounded, the latter mortally.

13th October 21 :—A detachment of the Dorset regiment from Perintalmanna engaged the rebels on Melattur road killing 12: our casualties two wounded. Another detachment of the Dorset Regiment from Mambad surprised the rebels lying in ambush inflicting casualties. Rebels two miles off Mannarghat have surrendered 40 swords. Small party of rebels raided Manjeri last night inflicting some casualties.

16th October, '21 :—Some rebels entered Nilambur and fired shots at 4 P. M. Seethi Koya Tangal is active near Mannarghat and has destroyed a bridge three miles west of that place. Kunhamad Haji is reported to be still in the vicinity of Pandicad. Nellicut Bridge is destroyed. A reconnoitring party from Manjeri was fired on by the rebels, the fire was returned and two

rebels were killed.

18th October, '21 :—Rebels are reported to be committing murders at Chennangalur, Poolakode and Pannikode.

20th October, '21:—A detachment of the Gurkhas left Kondotti to drive rebel bands reported at Morayur towards Manjeri, where Dorsets, Leinsters and armoured cars had proceeded. About 100 rebels attacked the Gurkhas near Morayur. The Gurkhas charged with their kukris. Forty-five rebel bodies were counted. The Gurkha casualties were three: some firearms and swords were captured.

20th October, '21 :—The Dorsets inflicted 30 casualties and the armoured cars one casualty on the rebels.

22nd October, '21 :—The Chin Kachin Battalion carried out local reconnaisances, followed by an operation near Wandur on the 23rd, in which the rebels suffered five casualties. Chembrasseri Tangal was last reported in the vicinity of Melattur and is now located north of Mannarghat. The rebels were active in the vicinity of Kottakkal on the 23rd Instant and a large band is reported to be near Areakode. Thirteen firearms, 9 swords, and 300 rounds of .303 ammunition were captured in the engagement of the 20th instant.

25th October, '21 :—The Chin Kachin Battalion from Nilambur surrounded a house on the Kallikavu Road this morning, inflicting casualties and destroying rice which could not be moved. A large gang was reported the previous night four miles north-west of Malappuram. Operations were undertaken against them by the Dorsets, the artillery and the armoured cars. The enemy were met in the jungles west of Melmuri, opposing our troops there and in the houses, refusing to come out when ordered to surrender and offering continued and determined opposition, resulting in 240 rebel casualties.

27th October, '21 :—The platoon of Chin Kachins from Edavanna crossed the river Chaliyar and meeting the rebels near Urangattri, killed 36 and captured 4 firearms and 15 swords. Our casualties were one Gurkha Officer killed, 2 Indian Other ranks wounded.

The garrison at Perintalmanna reports that rebels 100 strong near Velambur have destroyed bridges at Pallikuth.

28th October, '21 :—Latest reports place Chembrasseri Tangal with 3,000 rebels in the vicinity of Alanallur and Tiruvazhakunnu. A moveable column of the Suffolks visited Alanallur and Velliancheri and returned to Mannarghat to-day, having seen only a few small parties of rebels.

29th October, '21 :—A party of Chin Kachins surprised Kottampara Unnitari, one of Variakunnath Kunhamad Haji's most notorious and obnoxious lieutenants, at day-break in his newly built house at Kakkode, a few miles from Nilambur. Immediately, the troops were sighted, petards were fired off

and proved to be the signal for Unnithari's braves to assemble, which was of course exactly what the Kachins wanted. They greeted the swarms by a wholesome deluge, of lead and Unnithari fell, with, it is said, over a 100 of his band.

29th October, '21 :—The Dorsets from Perintalmanna inflicted 46 casualties on the rebels near Mankata. A whole company of the Dorsets from Manjeri surrounded a small rebel band, inflicting 6 casualties. Several other casualties were carried away by the rebels. The Leinsters engaged a small band near Kottakkal inflicting 4 casualties.

30th October, 21 :—A detachment of Special Police were attacked by the rebels near Chevayur, near Calicut. Twenty-six rebels were killed and two firearms captured. The Police casualties were one Indian rank killed and one British Officer and 6 Indian ranks wounded. Detachments of Special Police visited Tamarasseri and Cherukolathur.

3rd November, '21 :—Chin Cachins operating from Wandur had an engagement with rebels near Chembrasseri, inflictinig 8 known add other probable casualties. Same regiment carried out reconnaissances south and south-west from Areakode to-day. Rebel concentration still reported near Chembrasseri. Auxiliary Police carried out reconnaissance in Kunnamangalam area.

5th November, '21:—A detachment of the 64th Pioneers, while engaged in clearing the Manjeri-Areakode road, inflicted 6 casualties on the rebels. In yesterday's operation against the rebels at Pappinipra south-west of Manjeri, the Dorsets, armoured cars, and Pack Artillery killed 33 Moplah rebels; 4 firearms and 15 swords were also captured.

6th November, '21 :—A force of Military Police under Subadar Ahmad Baig engaged a considerable rebel band at Neeralakumuku on the Chathamangalam Road about 18 miles north-east of Calicut, inflicting several casualties. Naick Kunhambu received bullet wounds in his shoulder and leg and a Nair private was also wounded. The rebels fired from trenches.

7th November, '21 :—The following numbers of rebels have signified their submission: 300 from Anakayam, 400 from Kuttilangadi and 200 from Melmuri. Overtures are also being received from Chappanangadi, Chengattur, Panga and Pandalur.

8th November, '21 :—Two companies of the Special Police crossed ferry 2 miles south-east of Tamarasseri, to-day, moving southwards. Crossing was opposed by rebels of whom 3 were killed. Our casualties nil. Three more rebels, were killed is a result of small operation carried out by the Dorsets in the direction of Velur on the 6th.

9th November, '21 :—Chin Kachins operating from Areakode visited Pannikode. A detachment of the same Unit raided rebel paddy store at Kot-

tarakkat and brought in 20,000 *paras* (measures) of paddy to Nilambur.

A company of the 83rd Walajah Light infantry returned to Tirur after three days reconnaissance in the vicinity of Kolathur, during which 5 rebels were killed and 21 captured.

1/39th Gharwalis detrained at Calicut yesterday.

11th November, '21 :—The rebels attempted raid on the Moplah refugees at Nilambur but were driven off, 6 were killed. One refugee was killed: another attack expected. The Special Police advancing from Tamarasseri *via* Kondotti reached Omasseri and met opposition in the dense jungle, but reached the road near Chathamangalam. Eleven rebels killed; Police loss one man killed, one officer and 3 men slightly wounded. 2/8th Gurkhas moving east from Kunnamangalam *via* Chathamangalam killed 8 rebels including the murderer of Hindus at Pulakkod: one rebel was captured. Gurkhas sustained no casualties.

The Special Police operating in the vicinity of Malayamma killed 6 rebels and wounded others who escaped. The Police casualties were one Indian Officer and Indian other ranks slightly wounded. The Police operating from Feroke chased rebels from Vengara and Tirurangadi, who had been raiding Tenhipalam. Eight rebels killed: The Dorsets and Leinsters operated against rebel bands near Cherur, Oorakam, Melmuri and Mattathur. The troops from Pandikkad and Wandur co-operated against Chembrasseri, killing four rebels. Rebels dispersed to-wards Nilambur. The 1/39th Gharwalis and the 2/8th Gurkhas commenced drive to-day from line Kunnamangalam, Karasseri towards Beypore River. Rebels seen crossing north bank Heypore river to south near Kizhuparamba.

14th November, 21 :—At 5-30 this morning, the Pandicad Post held by one Company of the 2/8th Gurkhas was heavily attacked by Moplahs, estimated at about 2,000. 56 rebels succeeded in penetrating the Post, all of whom were killed. Total namber of enemy killed 230, one prisoner captured. Our casualties: one British Officer severely wounded since died. Capt. Averil of the 2/8th Gurkhas. Three other ranks killed and 34 wounded, mostly slightly. The Civil Post Master of Pandicad was murdered. Ten guns and 199 knives were captured.

Kuruya Amsom has now definitely surrendered. Indiannur and Ponmala Amsoms both near Kottakkal have sent in petitions to submit.

18th November, 21 :—One Hundred rebels were killed in the second phase of operations in Malabar. Several firearms have been captured, but the total is not yet known. The only incident was an attack on a party of the 1/39th Gharwalis by some 12 rebels, all of whom were killed after hand to hand fight in the thick jungles. Our casualties were two other ranks killed and 3 wounded, all of whom were amongst the 1/39th Gharwalis.

18th November, '21:—The total result of operations from 11th to 18th, rebel known casualties killed 233, prisoners 34, firearms captured 31.

19th November, '21:—Troops from Perintalmanna raided Kakkut near Perintalmanna, where rebels were reported to return at night. Four rebels were killed and 50 captured, several of whom were known criminals. The Burma Battalion operating from Wandur attacked a party of rebels on Wandur-Kalikavu Road, killing ten, capturing 6 firearms and four swords. This road is blocked by felled trees between 10th and 12th milestone.

20th November, '21:—The Auxiliary Police carried out punitive operations between 15th and 18th in Manasseri area. Four rebels were killed and one firearm was captured. Kachins from Nilambur raided rebel paddy store 3 miles east of Nilambur, and brought in 35,000 *paras* (measure) of paddy and 20 head of cattle. Small bands of rebels reported to have broken back westwards near Trikkalangode north of Manjeri : remainder still east of Nilambur, Edavanna and Manjeri road.

27th November, '21:—Detachment of 2/9th Gurkhas from Perintalmanna operated against Pulamanthol, killing ten and capturing ten rebels yesterday.

28th November, 21 :—Troops moving to the areas allotted to them after conclusion of drive. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas operating from Perintalmanna raided Panniyakurrissi, killing 3 rebels. 500 rebels reported to have collected about Areakode.

29th November, 21 :—Four rebels were killed and 3 wounded by small detachment of 2/8th Gurkhas. Two were captured by Signal station at Ottupara. Company of Special Police captured 12 rebels, members of Kalpakancheri gang, near Tenalur.

30th November, '21 :—Company of Special Police operating from Nannambra inflicted 9 casualties on Tirurangadi band. Two rebels were killed and one captured by Poliçe operating from Nilambur yesterday. Six casualties also inflicted by Special Police operating from Chelambra.

1st December, 21 :—Suffolks and Company, 83rd W. L. I., carried out successful operations yesterday against Vengara and Cherur area. Thirty-six rebels were killed and 6 captured. Company 83rd now at Tirurangadi. A company of Auxiliary Police killed 3 rebels near 5th milestone, Tirurangadi-Feroke Road.

3rd December, '21:—A party of Special Police operating about Kalpakancheri killed 4 and captured 9 rebels. Another company of Special Police killed 7 rebels near Chelambra. The 2/8th Gurkhas killed 8 rebels and captured one firearm and four swords near Tuvoor.

Moplahs from 8 Amsoms with Melattur as the centre and Vettatur as the most southerly point, are surrendering in large numbers. The total surrenders yesterday and to-day were 1,804 men with one firearm and 764 knives: 310

also surrendered around Perintalmanna.

4th Decentber, 21 :—The Chin Kachins reconnoitred from Nilambur and Kalikavu towards each other and sent a detachment to Wandur *via* Amarambalam, resulting in 4 rebels killed, three swords captured and 80,000 *paras* of paddy brought in. Also 1,500 rebels have surrendered at Areakode, handing in 3 swords. Numerous rebels desirous of submitting are reported along the south bank of the Beypore River, between Areakode and Edavanna and 525 with 9 swords submitted at Mannarghat on Saturday.

5th December, '21:—1/39th Gharwalis killed one, captured 2 rebels and two firearms. Total rebels surrendered in Mannarghat area now 2,400. 500 with 206 swords surrendered near Melattur. Total this area now 2,300 and 850 swords.

6th December, '21 :—Special Police killed 4 rebels near Veannakod. 2/8th Gurkhas killed two rebels near Chembrasseri. Total surrendered to 2/8th Gurkbas at Melattur to date 2756 men, 4 firearms, and 1122 swords. 39 men with 6 swords surrendered at Vilayur.

7th December, '21 :—Definite areas have now been allotted to different battalions, so as to cover the whole of the affected area. Some minor engagements with the rebels have taken place and surrenders continue from many parts of the area, hitherto chiefly affected, while there are signs that the chief rebel leaders are becoming dissatisfied with the progress of affairs near Melattur. A large body of Moplahs have surrendered and handed in 250 swords and Areakode, which a few weeks ago was an important rebel centre, is now displaying numbers of white flags. The chief gangs still remain to be dealt with, but it seems probable that these will decrease in size as time goes on. The main desideratum at present, apart from the capture of leaders, is to restore confidence in the non-rebel population and to induce them to assist in the apprehension of offenders and the restoration of normal conditions.

7th December, '21 :—Further surrenders to 2/8th Gurkhas at Melattur number 271 men, one firearm, and 133 swords. 450 men with 46 swords from Pandicad Vettakattri, and Chembrasseri surrendered at Pandicad on the 6th instant. 228 surrendered at Mannarghat and 742 at Perintalmanna. Active rebel bands reported north-east of Nilambur and north and south-east of Kalikavu.

9th December, '21 :—Since the conclusion of the drive from the north-west to the south-east of the affected area, there have been no major encounters, but minor ones have resulted in the following casualties to rebels, without casualties to ourselves—133 killed, 3 wounded and 45 captured. Since the conclusion of the drive, surrenders of rebels are coming in freely and many weapons are being handed in. Although some of the chief rebel leaders have not yet been accounted for, larger gangs have been broken up and scattered.

Small gangs remain to be dealt with, together with a certain number of irreconcilables. As a consequence of the drive, it may be said that the general situation is decidedly better. The confidence of the populace is being restored and that of the rebels is deteriorating. Small rebel gangs which remain are being hunted day and night, but are difficult to dispose of quickly, as they are scattered throughout the District and avoid encounters with the troops as much as possible. Now that the drive has been concluded, the troops and Special Police are re-allotted to areas for work, and it is hoped by this means to account for the remaining rebels.

Within the last fortnight, there has, therefore, been a great increase in the number of surrenders. Those reported during the fortnight, excluding the involuntary captures, total 3,769 men and 1,574 weapons, the latter being practically all swords and knives. These surrenders have not been confined to one or two localities, but have occured at various points wide-apart in the affected area.

9th December, '21 :—750 rebels with 254 swords have surrendered to 2/9th Gurkhas at Melattur on the 7th instant. 1/39th Gharwalis report white flags shown along Chaliyar River from Areakode to Cheruvadi inclusive. All houses in Chikod also showing flags. One member of Pannikode gang killed. Gang now moved northwards. 2/9th Gurkhas captured 13 rebels at Nilambur and killed one north of Pottasseri. 3/70th Kachin's surprised a rebel sentry group, killing one and capturing 2 swords.

3/70th Kachins killed 35 rebels, captured 20 firearms and 15 swords at Kalamala. Our casualtles 3 slightly wounded. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas at Mankada killed 14 rebels near that place. Surrenders continue about Melattur and Mannarghat.

Situation during the week-ending 12th December, '21 :—The Gurkhas, the Suffolks and the Special Police have all had successful encounters with the rebels during the last few days and have killed about 200 besides taking some prisoners and a number of weapons including firearms. In the Suffolks engagements, the enemy attacked in a desperate fashion and 91 were killed. The principal leaders, with a diminishing number of followers, still remain to be dealt with, but their position is becoming desperate, and there are increasing signs that the rebellion is collapsing, so far at least, as active resistance is concerned. The fighting gangs are penned in the hills behind Mannarghat Road, from Kalikavu to Nilambur and in the south-east of Calicut Taluk.

Surrenders continue and though the number of firearms handed in was not very great, there can be no doubt that the moral effect is considerable. The total number of names now recorded comes to about 27,500.

13th December, '21 :—Nine amsoms round Tirurangadi totalling 2,400 men have sent in petitions to surrender. More are following. Amsoms round

Melattur handed in six firearms and 157 swords yesterday.

14th December, '21 :—2/9th Gurkhas carried out operations against Seethikoya Tangal's band in hills east of Mannarghat yesterday. 21 rebels killed and the remainder escaped. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas operating from Perintalmanna killed 7 rebels at Amminikad. Total surrenders to 3/70th Kachins at Wandur to date number 1,237. 297 rebels with 5 firearms have surrendered at Areakode.

Situation week-ending 18th December, '21 :—The main fighting gangs remain in the hill areas mentioned in the last weekly summary. They had dwindled further and are still more scattered. The difficulty in getting at them has not diminished. But their food supplies have been still further restricted. The raid at Pandalur in the Nilgris was probably for food and arms. This gang apparently returned to Nilambur area and have since moved west and north of the Beypore River. Operations in the Tirurangadi Area have left only very small groups of armed rebels. Dacoities continue in the Kalpakancheri and Tirur areas. Surrenders have continued in all parts and a rather large proportion of arms were brought in. Conditions in the surrendering amsoms are improving and there have been indications of Hindus and Moplahs combining to resist looting and to help in the capture of individuals, but the restoration of public confidence will be slow till all the known leaders have þeen acounted for, and this will take time, owing to the nature of the country where they now are.

Situation during week-ending 25th December, 21 :—Chembrasseri and Seethi Koya Tangals have surrendered and the majority of their gangs have either come in or been accounted for. The remnants joined other fighting gangs, the chief of which under Kunhamad Haji, Moideen Haji and Konnara Tangal still remain in hills in Nilambur and Areakode areas and north of the river. These gangs are being watched by the Military and the Police, but they are still elusive and capable of concentrating in considerable numbers in West Ernad. Police operations have still further reduced the rebels and dacoits and many important arrests were made during the week. Surrenders have been made in numbers in nearly all amsoms and more guns were brought in. Normal conditions now extend to the whole area, but the landlords are slow to give lead in the exhibition of confidence. Most amsoms are now fit for refugees to return, and it is desirable on all grounds that their return should not be delayed.

Situation for the week-ending January 1st, 1922 :—Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gang has been reduced to about 80 men who are tired and hungry. They were on Pandalur Hills and just escaped capture on 30th Dec. Kutti Moideen Haji and Konnara Tangal are still north of Beypore river, in the neighbourhood of Pannikode. There has becen a considerable number of

surrenders and arrests of dangerous criminals and rebel leaders, and they are being tried by Court Martial, but large numbers of prisoners still remain to be tried. Conditions generally continue to show steady improvement. Refugees are beginning to return in large numbers.

7th January, '21 :—Kunhamad Haji with 21 followers, one .303 rifle, 10 police rifles, and four other B. L. firearms were captured by a specially organised Police Force under the leadership of Subadar Gopala Menon and Sub-Inspector Ramanatha Iyer at Chokad yesterday.

A detachment of 1/39th Gharwalis pursuing the rebels under Moideen Kutti Haji killed 19 and wounded 3 rebels near Morayur.

20th January, '22:—Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and six other Moplahs who were charged with waging war and tried by a Military court, were shot at Malappuram to-day.

The capture of the "Khilafat King", Varian Kunnath Kunhamad Haji, marked the collapse of the rebellion. "There are only two bands of active rebels left to be dealt with. They are under the leadership of two minor leaders, Konnara Tangal and Moideen Kutty Haji. They are being vigorously pursued and are decreasing in numbers owing to surrenders and casualties. Various detachments of troops have already left the area and it is hoped that the two battalions will have left by the 25th instant, and the force will be reduced to approximately peace garrison by the middle of next month. The total approximate rebel casualties up to date are 2,266 killed, 1,615 wounded and 5,688 captured and 38,256 surrenders. (*Madras Mail* Jan. 23rd '22).

There remained the following leaders and their followers to be accounted for :—

1. Abdul Haji and his followers took refuge in a Hindu temple and declared intention of fighting. All were killed by the Suffolks, who had one man seriously wounded, (Press Com. Jan. 27th, '22.)

2. Koyammu Haji and his brother were arrested by the Police on 30th January, 1922.

3. Abu Bocker Musaliar was arrested at a Railway station while attempting to escape from Malabar. (Press Com., 30th Jan., '22.)

4. Karat Moideen Kutti Haji captured near Pookotur. (Press Com., Feb. 2nd, '22.)

The only rebel leader still at large and in hiding was Konnara Tangal, who eluded the vigilance of the police until 25th August, 1922, when he was arrested at Koothuparamba, North Malabar, a year and five days after the commencement of the rebellion.

It is impossible, in the absence of a census of the rebel area, to state the number of persons who were killed by the rebels, "but the number of persons among the civil population is believed to be between 500 and 600"

according to the information given by Government. "No statistics have been compiled regarding the number of women and children among the persons killed." (*Madras Mail* 14th November '22).

Military casualties were 24 killed and 103 wounded. The Police casualties were 24 killed and 29 wounded. (Legislative Council Interpellations, Nov. 15th 1922).

Our thanks are due to all those who were employed in the suppression of the rebellion and the Zamorin Raja of Calicut who presided at a Conference held at Calicut on the 19th Feb. '22 expressed the sentiments of the Malabar public in the following terms :—

"The troops in the field and outside, who are withdrawn from it, deserve our heartiest thanks and congratulations. I believe that a sufficient number of them will remain permanently with us to look after our safety. Innumerable difficulties had to be faced by them, oftentimes at the sacrifice of valuable lives. We mourn for the dead among them, and also among the Police Force. We sympathise with their bereaved families. Our loyal thanks must go to the Government and its officers, high and low, who have been engaged in the task of restoring law and order."

Note :—The information regarding Military movements consists of quotations from 1, Official Review, Simla dated 8th Sept. '21 and Press communiques published in the Madras Mail and 3. Judgement in Kunhi Kadir's case No. 4/21 on the file of the Special Tribunal, Calicut.

The dates of communiques given in this chapter do not always correspond to the dates on which the events actually took place.

CHAPTER III : MARTIAL LAW

"It is the fundamental duty of the Government to maintain order. Ordinarily the execution of this duty rests upon the Civil Authorities. They have the power to disperse unlawful assemblies and suppress rioting and disturbance. If their force is insufficient for this purpose it is their duty to call in Military assistance, and in these circumstances it is the duty of the Military to give the assistance demanded. If the Civil authorities are unable with such Military aid as may be available to maintain or restore order, it then becomes the duty of the Military Officer, as the direct representative of H. M. The King-Emperor, to restore law and order. When this state of things is reached, a state of Martial Law is said to exist.

While on the one hand the authorities on the spot are transgressing their duty if there is an unnecessary appeal for Military assistance, or if there is an unnecessary abdication of their powers, they are still more seriously trangressing their duty if there is a failure to call for military assistance when necessary, or a failure to recognise that the situation is beyond their power to control even with military assistance. In both these tatters the responsible officer on the spot must act according to the best information which is available to him.

In the present instance it would appear that in the opinion of the District Magistrate the cutting of telegraph wires, the blocking of roads, the destruction of railways and the murders, looting and rioting which took place at Tirurangadi to his knowledge and were credibly reported to have taken place elsewhere, constituted a situation which the Civil authorities were powerless to control, even with the help of such Military Force as were available. The Ordinance notified by the Government of India on August 26 is incidentally a notification that an emergency involving the necessity for the recognition of Martial Law existed in Malabar from August 19, 1921" (Publicity Bureau, *Madras Mail* dated Aug. 31, 1921).

The rebellion broke out on 20th August, Martial Law was passed on

26th August, and proclaimed on 29th August, 1921. The several Ordinances passed in connection with the rebellion are detailed below:—

ORDINANCES

1. Ordinance II of 1921 was passed by the Government of India on 26th August 1921. This provides for the proclamation of Martial Law to empower Military Authorities to make regulations and issue order to provide for the public safety and the maintenance and restoration of order, to authorise the trial of certain offences by Special courts constituted under this Ordinance and to provide for other matters connected with the administration of Martial Law.

2. Proclamation by the Military Commander, Martial Law Area. The area of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynad Taluks is now under Martial Law and I have been I appointed by Superior Military Authority to command troops and administer Martial Law therein. Calicat 29th August '21.

(Sd.) E. T. HUMPHREYS, COLONEL.

3. Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance III of 1921 constituting a Special Tribunal of three persons, a President and two members, for the trial of offences under the Martial Law. (*Vide* proclamation by the District Magistrate dated 12th Sept. 1921).

4. Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance No. IV of 1921 for the constitution of Military Courts for the trial of certain Offences committed in any area in which Martial Law is in force (passed by Government on 15th October 1921).

5. Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance V of 1921 to provide for tbe trial by Special Magistrates of certain offences committed in the area in which Martial Law is in force. (passed on 11th Nov. 1921).

6. Malabar (Restoration of order) Ordinance No. I of 1922 to provide for the speedy trial of certain offences committed daring the period while Martial Law was in force or arising out of the circumstances which necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law and also to enable the local Government to take certain steps for the protection of law-abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in those areas (passed on the 25th Feb. 1922).

7. Martial Law withdrawn from this day (25th Feb. 1922).

Ordinances Nos. II, III, IV, and V of 1921 repealed.

The area to which restoration of Order Ordinance is applicable,—Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad and Calicut.

8. Malabar (Completion of Trials) Ordinance No. III of 1922 to provide for the trial of certain persons whose trials have commenced before or who are awaiting trial by the courts constituted under the Malabar Restoration of Order Ordinance 1922 and for the disposal of appeals pending under that Ordinance (passed on 19th August 1922).

9. Act I of 1923 (Madras), The Malabar (completion of trials) Act, 1922: to provide for the speedy trial of certain classes of offenders who took part in the Moplah rebellion in Malabar during 1921–22 and for the due execution of sentences and other orders passed by Special Courts under the Malabar (completion of trials) Ordinance, 1922, after they have ceased to exist. (Assented to by the Governor on 4th January 1923 and by the Governor-General on 17th January 1923). This Act is now in force.

SUSPENSION OF SENTENCE

The Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, I. C. S., C. S. I., Special Commissioner for Malabar affairs, issued the following proclamation on 20th March 1922 providing for the Suspension of sentences passed under the above Ordinances in the circumstances noted therein :—

"A large number of persons have already been arrested and convicted of murder, arson, dacoity and other crimes committed during the course of the Moplah rebellion and there are still many cases of similar crimes under investigation by the Police. Among the persons who have not been arrested are many who have been ring-leaders in crime or against whom several offences are charged: their cases will be dealt with by the courts in the ordinary course. But there are others who are accused of participation in crime otherwise as leaders or against whom only isolated offences are charged. These, it is not necessary, to treat as confirmed criminals; but such offenders cannot escape punishment which they have justly deserved and all against whom complaints have been made must be prosecuted.

But the Government are unwilling to remove from their homes and imprison any larger portion of the Moplah population than is absolutely necessary for the peace of the District. It is desirable rather that they should as quickly as possible resume their ordinary avocations and live in amity with their neighbours. Whenever therefore it appears that an offender now realises and regrets the crime which he has committed and is prepared by his future conduct to show his repentance, the Government propose to give him an opportunity of escaping the term of imprisonment, which may have been imposed upon him. Persons selected for this leniency will have their sentence of imprisonment suspended so long as they remain of good behaviour,

and pay punctually the fine which the court has ordered. Such fines will be recovered in instalments. Should any instalment not be paid at the proper time or should the offenders conduct be in any way unsatisfactory, he will be liable to be sent to jail at once without further trial to serve his sentence of imprisonment.

This concession will not be extended to all, but only to those who by their present behaviour and by their readiness to surrender themselves for trial when called upon, show that they deserve this lenient treatment." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 23rd March 1922).

The above decision has been approved by the Government of Madras.

The object of the suspension of sentences is explained by the Hon'ble A. R. Knapp, in his report of 30th March, 1922 :—

"It has been decided that all fines and confiscations of property ordered by the courts in cases arising out of the rebellion will be set apart to be given as an act of grace to those who have suffered from the rebellion. The amount of fines hitherto imposed has not been very considerable; the latest total reported to me is Rs. 5,060. But the amount available to be thus given in compensation will be greatly enhanced, if success attends the scheme for which I have recently obtained sanction of the Government. Under this a large number of Moplahs who are accused of having participated in a minor degree in crimes committed during the rebellion will be brought to trial, and if convicted will have their sentence of imprisonment suspended on condition that they will remain of good behaviour and pay punctually the fine which will be imposed upon them and for which they will be given time to pay. My present expectation is that the fines thus realised will provide a fund which will go a long way to meet the loss actually suffered. I have received a large number of claims for compensation. Their total at present amounts to Rs. 21 lakhs, but for this Rs, 7 lakhs represent claims put in by Moplahs, many of whom are probably rebels. Of the balance a great many claims are almost certainly exaggerated.' (*West Coast Spectator*, dated, May 18th, 1922).

DETAILS OF CONVICTION, SUSPENSION AND FINES

1. Number of persons convicted of offences connected with the rebellion up to the end of Oct. '22 8,588

2. Number of persons dealt with under suspension of sentence scheme 9,984

3. Number of persons pending trial. 1,954

4. Fines imposed by the end of October 1922 Rs. 9,94,042
5. Fines paid by the end of October 1922 Rs. 1,33,807

Note :—Items 1 and 2 are mutually exclusive.

CHAPTER IV : THE MALABAR POLICE

A brief history of the system that existed in this District for the maintenance of law and order prior to the formation of the regular Police Force under Act XXIV of 1859, will be interesting reading and is therefore introduced into this chapter which deals with the conduct of the Malabar Police during the rebellion.

"In ancient times the Naduvazhis[8] and Desavazhis[9] supported by their armed Nayar retainers maintained law and order. With the Mohammedan invasion the system broke down. Tippu's brutal methods of obtaining converts to Islam, which drove the Rajas and thousands of their principal adherents out of their country, broke up social organism, and engendered a fierce and abiding hatred between Hindu and Mohammedan; and in 1792, when the British took over Malabar, this animosity had reached a dangerous height, and the foundations of law and order had been undermined. South Malabar was in particular terrorised by bands of marauding Moplahs who found a secure retreat in the jungles of Ernad and Walluvanad. The military held the country for a time; but were gradually drafted out of Malabar to prosecute the campaign against Tippu, which ended with the fall of Seringapatam, and their departure rendered necessary the organisation of Police. To overawe the Moplahs, Nayar Sibbandi corps were raised to serve under their native chieftains, and by the end of the 18th century a more regular Police force had been established in each of the Collectorates into which the district was then divided. In the Collectorate of Angadipuram, to take a single instance, which included Vellatiri, Cheranad, Vettathnad and Parappanad, the establishment of Police in 1800 consisted of two Jemadars, eight daffadars and 277 kolkars, besides detachments of Sibbandi corps stations at various places in the division. In 1801 the irregular and undisciplined Sibbandi corps were disbanded, and their place was taken by a force of 500

[8] Naduvazhis=Chieftain of a country or Nadu.

[9] Desavazhis=Chieftain of a smaller tract of country.

armed Police raised by Captain Watson, mainly for the purpose of collecting the revenue. In the troublous times of the Pychy rebellion this force, which then numbered 1200, did conspicuous service. Not only did they clear the low country of the small bands of rebels which infested it, but under Mr. Baber they were mainly instrumental in bringing the Raja to bay and in stamping out the rebellion. This force was disbanded about 1810, and since that date the Malabar Police has followed normal lines of development. The existing establishment of "Police Daroghas and Tanahdars" was abolished by regulation II of 1816, and a system was introduced piously believed to be founded upon the "ancient usages of the country." Under the general control of the zillah magistrate and his assistants, the, Adhigari was the head of the village Police, the Tahsildar of the taluk Police, and amins, were appointed to discharge Police duties in important towns. A curious feature of the system was that no special establishment of constables existed. Police duties were discharged by the ordinary revenue peon, and about 1823 a very common response to a request for an escort for prisoners was that the peons were 'too busy with the revenue survey to be spared.' The Moplah outbreaks which began in 1856 soon revealed the inadequacy of the system. The establishment of a local Police corps consisting of 31 native officers, two buglers, and 150 men under the command of two military officers was sanctioned by the Government of India in 1854, but the murder of Mr. Conolly in 1855 once more exposed the utter inefficiency of the Police. The assasins after escape from Jail wandered about the District for some weeks, and, though it was a matter of common knowledge that they were contemplating some crime, the Tahsildars took no notice of them, and made no effort to inform one another of the movement. The ease with which the Collector of Malabar had been murdered was a strong argument for the reform of the Police which was then under discussion: and a few years later the present Police force was organised under Act XXIV of 1859." (*Malabar Gazeteer.*)

Since then, the Malabar public looked to the Police force for the preservation of peace in the country and under normal conditions they justified their existence. The conditions became abnormal with the breaking out of the rebellion and the Police force was found to be incapable of coping with the situation. Police Stations were raided: there was practically no resistance and all arms were taken away by the rebels: the conduct of the Police has been severely criticised by the public, and the question has been asked whether at the outbreak of the rebellion when the Moplahs advanced without firearms, a serious resistance would not have been effective at stations where the Police were in full strength. The Malabar Police had always a good reputation for courage, in this district, as also, in other Districts where they were employed : the Special Police Force recruited during the rebellion gave

a very good account of themselves in the encounters with the Moplah rebels, and even now a detachment of this force has been taken out to the Agency Tracts, to suppress the rebellion there. It was therefore a shock to find that when the rebels raided the Police Stations, the Police were not able to offer any resistance. Their conduct is inexplicable, expert on the supposition that the small number of Policemen present at the station became nervous at the sight of the very large number of Moplahs advancing to the attack. It was an opportunity to win *Kudos* at the risk of one's life : but none ventured to take the risk : the pity of it!

The conduct of the Police during the Martial Law regime has been severely criticised in the Press (Appx. viii a) and during an interview with the correspondent of the *Madras Mail*, Mr. Prabhakaran Thampan M. L. C. in suggesting a departmental enquiry made the following remarks :—

"It is true that during the Martial Law periods some of the sub-ordinate Police were abusing their powers, yielding to the temptation offered by the chaotic and confused state of the country. I will only say that a departmental enquiry into the conduct of the Police is most advisable and urgently called for, and exemplary punishment should be meted out to the guilty. While this would have a salutary effect on the Police it would also have a soothing effect on the masses. (*Madras Mail* November 20, 1922).

The conduct of the Police in connection with some of the charges laid before the Special Courts has also been adversely commented upon (Appx. viii b) and no doubt action will be taken by the authorities in such cases.

Note :—Since the above was written, the conduct of the Police formed the subject of debates before the Legislative Council : (Appr. viii c.) it formed also the subject of a resolution at a public meeting at Calicut on 10th March '23 : (Appx. viii d.) an Inspector of Police (Mr. P. K. Madhava Menon) has been dismissed from public service as a result of departinental enquiries. (Fort St. George Gazette dated 27-3-'23) and another Inspector of Police (Jlr. Neelakhantan Nair) has been placed on his trial on a charge of extortion.

A young man who received 18 wounds and escaped by jumping into a river.

CHAPTER V : ATROCITIES

"In point of magnitude, organisation, and the atrocities committed by the rebels, this rising in the Moplah country is unparalleled in the history of Malabar, or for the matter of that in the history of the whole of India." (*Madras Mail*, November 18th, '21).

The history of the Moplah rebellion would be a history of the atrocities committed by the Moplah rebels against the Hindus, and to describe them in detail would fill a volume. There is hardly a Hindu in the rebel area who has not suffered and a general idea can be formed by a perusal of the memorial submitted by the women of Malabar to H. E. The Countess of Reading, an extract from which is appended :—

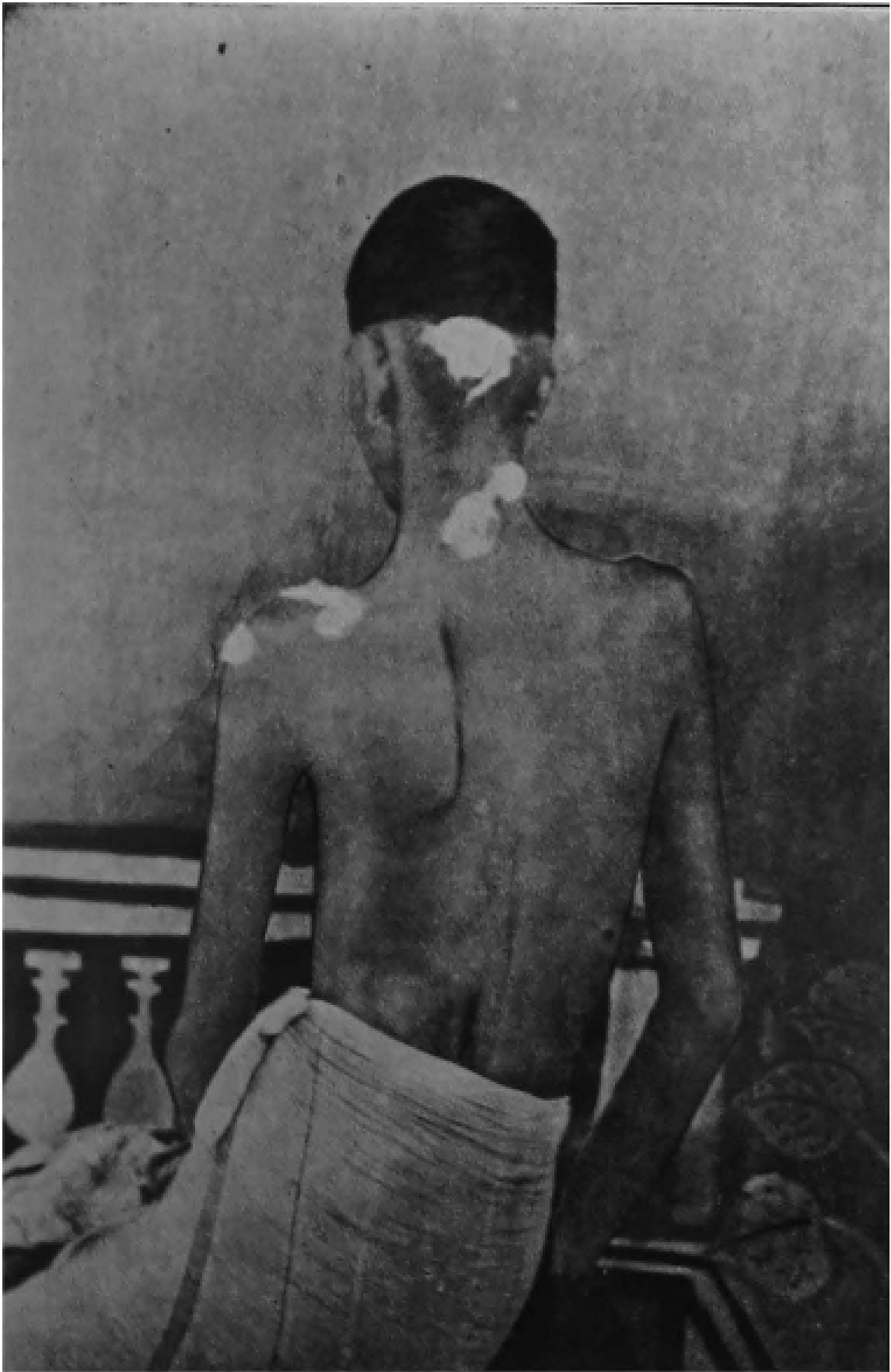
"May it please your gracious and compassionate Ladyship,

We, the Hindu women of Malabar of varying ranks and stations in life who have recently been overwhelmed by the tremendous catastrophe known as the Moplah rebellion, have taken the liberty to supplicate your Ladyship for sympathy and succour.

2. Your Ladyship is doubtless aware that though our unhappy district has witnessed many Moplah outbreaks in the course of the last 100 years, the present rebellion is unexampled in its magnitude as well as unprecedented in its ferocity. But it is possinle that Your Ladyship is not fully apprised of all the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by the feindish rebels; of the many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our Fathers; of pregnant women cut to picces and left on the roadside and in the jungles, with the unborn babe protruding from the mangled cropse; of our innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes and of our husbands and fathers tortured, flayed and burnt alive; of our helpless sisters forcibly carried away from the midst of kith and kin and subjected to every shame and outrage which the vile and brutal imagination of these inhuman hell bounds could concieve of; of thousands of our homesteads reduced to cindermounds out of sheer savagery and a wanton spirit of destruction; of our places of worship desecrated and destroyed and

of the images of the deity shamefully insulted by putting the entrails of slaughtered cows where flower garlands used to lie, or else smashed to pieces; of the wholesale looting of hard-earned wealth of generatiors, reducing many who were formerly rich and prosperous to publicly beg for a pice or two in the streets of Calicut to buy salt or chilly or betel-leaf, rice being mercifully provided by the various relief agencies. These are not fables.

The wells full of rotting skeletone, the ruins which once were our dear homes, the heaps of stones which once were our places of worship—they are still here to attest to the truth. The cries of our murdered children in their death agonies are still ringing in our ears and will continue to haunt our memory till death brings us peace. We remember how, driven out of our native hamlets we wandered starvinig and naked in the jungles and forests; we remember how we choked and stifled our babies cries lest the sound should betray our hiding places to our relentless pursuers. We still vividly realise the moral and spiritual agony that thousands of us passed through when we were forcibly converted into the faith professed by these bloodthirsty miscreants; we still have before us the sight of the unendurable and life-long misery of those-fortunately few-of our most unhappy sisters who born and brought up in respectable families have been forcibly converted and then married to convict coolies. For five fong months hot a day has passed without its dread tale of horror to unfold."

For details please see appendix ix.

Young man who received 18 sword cuts—back.

CHAPTER VI : KHILAFAT KINGS AND GOVERNORS

Ali Musaliar, native of Nellikuth Amsam in Ernad Taluk, settled down about fourteen years ago at Tirurangadi as a religious teacher. He became a Khilafat leader, on the introduction of the Khilafat movement, was installed as Khilafat King on the 22nd August 1921 at the Jamat Mosque, and issued edicts proclaiming his assumption of office and directing that in future market fees, ferry and toll revenue belong to the Khilafat Government. On 30th August “Ali Raja” and his followers were surrounded by British troops; 24 of his followers were killed in the fight; the ”Raja” and the remaining followers surrendered on the 31st August. He was tried by the Special Tribunal, Malabar at Calicut on a charge of waging war with H. M. The King-Emperor and on 2nd November 1921 was sentenced to death,—He enjoyed a very brief period of sovereignity,—22nd to 30th August uneventful except for the brutal murder of Mr. Rowley and Lieut. Johnstone by his followers two days before his installation.

2. Kunhi Kadir, Khilafat Secretary, Tanur, was also the Khilafat chief of that station. He was the first to go to the rescue of Ali Musaliar at Tirurangadi with his followers and having met the troops on the way between Tirurangadi and Parappanangadi gave battle. He was captured, tried by the Special Tribunal and sentenced to be hanged.

3. Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji, of a family of outbreak traditions, as a lad was transported with his father for complicity in a previous outbreak; on his return 6 or 7 years ago was not allowed to settle down in his native village but after a time he went up to his village and started life as a cartman.

On the introduction of the Khilafat movement he joined it and became one of the chief workers; organised Sabhas, and became the guiding spirit of the Khilafat in Ernad. On the outbreak of the rebellion he became king, celebrated his accession by the murder of Khan Bahadur Chekkutti, a Moplah retired Police Inspector, who was decapitated while expiring in his wife’s arms.

He styled himself Raja of the Hindus, Amir of the Mohammedans and Colonel of the Khilafat Army. He wore a fez-cap, wore the Khilafat uniform and badge and he had a sword in his hand. He enjoyed absolute Swaraj in his Kingdom of Ernad and Walluvanad; he announced that he was aware that the inhabitants have suffered greatly from robbery and looting, that he would impose no taxation on them this year (1921) save in the way of donations to his Ayudha[10] Fund and that next year, the taxes must be forthcoming. He ordered numbers of agricultural labourers to reap and bring in the paddy raised on the Tirumulpad's lands; the harvesters being paid in cash and the grains set apart to feed the Haji's forces. He issued passports to persons wishing to get outside his kingdom and the cost of a pass was a very flexible figure, according to the capacity of the individual concerned.

His Swaraj commenced about the 22nd of August 1921 and lasted until 6th January '22 on which day he was captured. He was tried by the Court Martial at Malappuram and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was given effect to on 20th January 1922.

4. Kunhi Koya Thangal, President of the Khilafat Committee, Malappuram was an old man wielding great influence over the Moplahs at Malappuram and the neighbouring villages. When the Pookotur Moplahs resented the search of Secretary Mohammed's house by the Police, it was this Tangal at whose intercession they were pacified on condition that Police functions were suspended. It was this Tangal who forcibly converted Mr. Komu Menon and his family on 22nd August 1921 and it was be who imparted his benediction to the rebels before they proceeded to fight the Pookotur battle against the British troops on 26th August 1921. He found the Martial Law too strong for him and finding that the troops and the Police were after him, wished to escape. On his way, probably to the Wynaad, he was captured at Tiruvambadi on 2nd September '21 and produced before the District Magistrate who remanded him to the Central Jail, Cannanore from where he died.

5. Another leader was Seethi Koya Tangal of Kumaramputhur, who set himself up as the Governor of a Khilafat Principality. He issued fatwas warning his men against looting and other depredations pointing out that the country had become theirs. Three of the rioters implicated in Elamplasseri were punished by him holding his own court-martial. The offenders were ordered to be shot taking care only to use blank cartridges, The men terrified fell down and when they rose there were no injuries on their bodies which the Tangal attributed to his own marvellous powers and added that his men will similarly be immune from British Military attacks. He was captured; was ordered to be shot by the court-martial and was shot accordingly.

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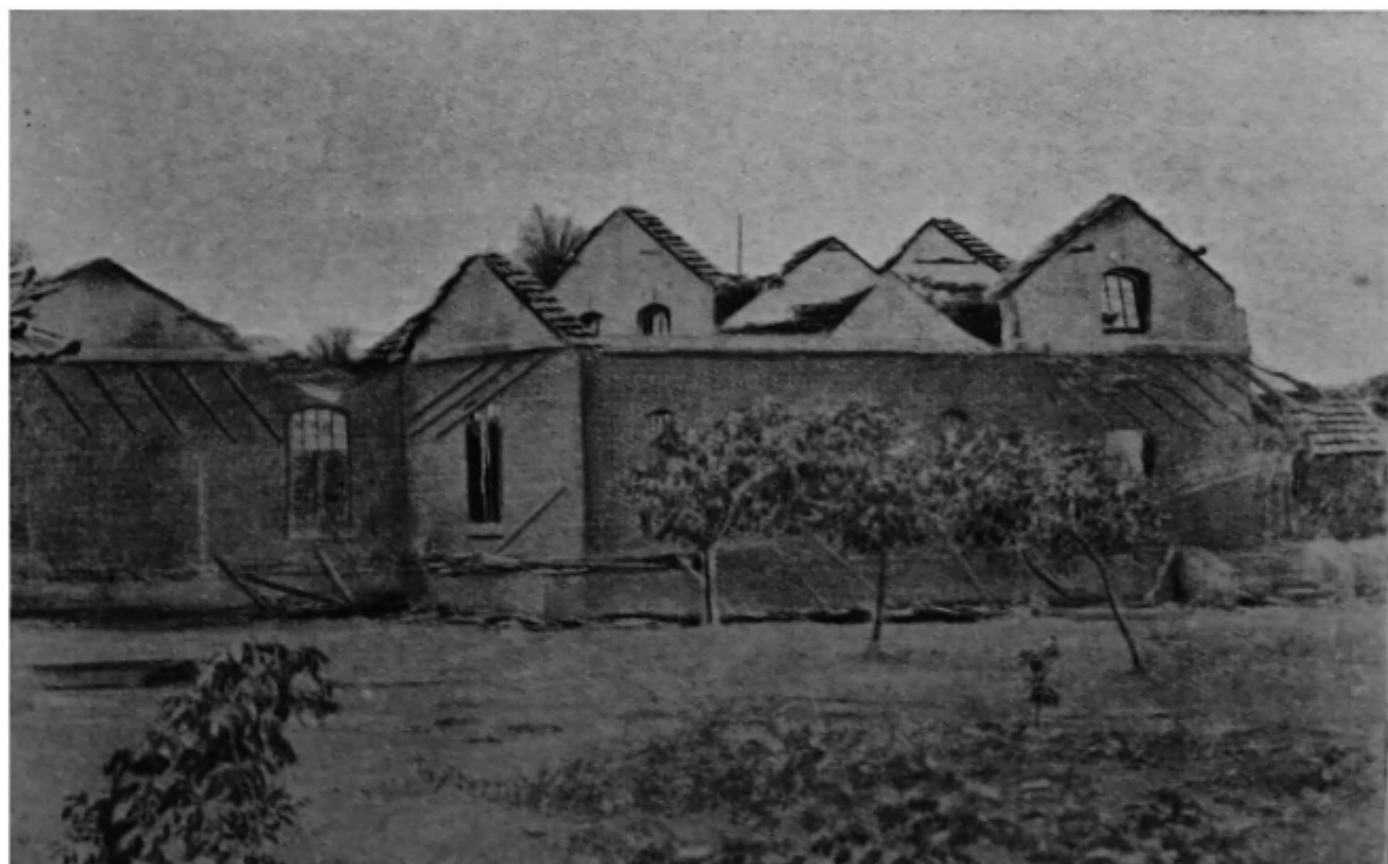
[10] Ayudha=Arms.

6. Another Tangal who acquired inotoriety was Chembrasseri Imbichi Koya Tangal. He held his court about midway between Tuvoor and Karuvarakundu on the slope of a bare hillock with about 4,000 followers from the neighbouring villages. More than 40 Hindus were taken to the Tangal with their hands tied behind their back, charged with the crime of helping the Military by supplying them with milk, tender cocoanuts etc., and 38 of these Hindus were condemned to death. He superintended the work of murder in person and seated on a rock near a well witnessed his men cutting at the neck of his victims and pushing the bodies into the well. Thirty-eight men were murdered, one of whom a pensioned Head Constable to whom he owed a grudge had his head neatly divided into two halves. The Tangal surrendered at Melattur, was tried by court martial and ordered to be shot. He was shot accordingly on 20th January 1922.

7. Palakamthodi Avvocker Musaliar was a rebel leader who like Chembrasseri Tangal, took a pleasure in having Hindus killed and pushed into a well. He was arrested on 30th June 1922, tried by the Special Tribunal on 29th July 1922 and sentenced to death.

8. KONNARA TANGALS.—The rising in Calicut Taluk is due to these Tangals, members of Konnara family,—1. Konnara Mohammed Koya Tangal, 2. Cherukunhi Tangal. 3. Attakoya Tangal, 4. Koyakutti Tangal, 5. Koyakutti Tangal, 6. Perukamanna Koyakutti Tangal.

The chief among them—Konnara Mohammed Koya Tangal evaded capture for a long time but was eventually captured at Kuthuparamba on 25th August 1922, and with his arrest the rebellion was finally suppressed.

All the six were tried for offences committed during the rebellion: No. 1 was sentenced to be hanged; Nos. 2, 3 and 4 to transportation for life. The charges against 5 and 6 are pending.

RUINED SUB MAGISTRATE'S COURT, TIRURANGADI—BACK VIEW.

CHAPTER VII : REBEL DESTRUCTIVENESS

The following is a list of the public offices attacked by the rebels:—

I. REVENUE AND CIVIL

1. Combined Offices, Tirur—Records destroyed.

2. Taluk Office, Perintalmanna—Destroyed.

The Sub-Treasury was looted. Cash and notes for Rs. 3,213/- removed and stamps worth Rs. 21,471-9-3 destroyed.

3. Munsiff's Court, Walluvanad—Records destroyed.

4. Taluk Office, Manjeri—Damaged and records destroyed.

The Sub-Treasury was looted. Cash and notes for Rs. 5,90,512-13-5 carried away. Stamps destroyed Rs. 9,678-12-0.

5. Munsiff's Court, Manjeri—Records destroyed.

6. Sub-Magistrate's Court, Tirurangadi—Destroyed.

7. Munsiff's Court, Parappanangadi—Destroyed.

8. Forest Buildings, Nilambur—Destroyed.

II. REGISTRATION OFFICES

1. Mannarghat, 2. Kundotti, 3. Kalpakancheri, 4. Tirurangadi and 5. Wandur—destroyed by fire—records destroyed and cast looted.

6. Vilayur, 7. Walluvanad and 8. Areacode—Records destroyed and cash looted.

9. Manjeri—Building damaged and a few records destroyed.

10. Tirur—Records partially burnt and cash looted.

III. POST OFFICES

The following Post Offices were looted :—

SUB-OFFICE

1. Tanur, 2. Parappanangadi, 3. Kottakkal, 4. Manjeri 5. Perintalmanna 6. Nilambur and 7. Tirur.

BRANCH OFFICE

8. Vilayur, 9. Kalpakancheri, 10. Valancheri, 11. Mannarghat, 12. Tirurangadi, 13. Pandikad, 14. Pullengode, 15. Kerala Estate and 16.

Wandoor.

IV. POLICE STATIONS

The following Police Stations were sacked by the rebels :—

ERNAD TALUK

1. Manjeri, 2. Nilambur, 3. Wandur, 4. Karuvarakundu, 5. Pandicad, 6. Areakode, 7. Edavanna, 8. Kalikavu, 9. Mudikode, 10. Tirurangadi and 11. Kundotti.

WALLUVANAD TALUK

1. Perintalmanna, 2. Melattur, 3. Mannarghat and 4. Cherpulchery.

PONNANI TALUK

1. Tirur, 2. Kalpakancheri, 3. Kattuparuthi and 4. Tanur

V. AMSOM CUTCHERIES[11] DESTROYED

Calicut TALUK

1. Mavoor, 2. Puthur, 3. Koduvalli and 4. Tazhekade.

ERNAD TALUK

1. Irrivetti, 2. Tripanachi, 3. Payyanad, 4. Cheruvayur, 5. Kuzhimanna, 6. Chathangotpuram, 7. Tuvoor, 8. Iringallur and 9. Vettikattri.

WALLUVANAD TALUK

1. Ariyoor, 2. Thachampara, 3. Nenmini and 4. Elamplasseri.

PONNANI TALUK

Punnayurkulam

The records of the following Amsoms were destroyed :—

ERNAD TALUK

1. Puliyankode, 2. Kondotti, 3. Vilayil (The adhigari P. Chenthamara Pisharodi was murdered by the rebels on 7-4-'22.), 4. Irumpuzhi, 5. Manjeri, 6. Perakamana, 7. Urakam Kizhmuri, 8. Valiyora, 9. Vengara, 10. Kannamangalam, 11. Uragam Melmuri, 12. Cherur, 13. Kotinhi, 14. Nannambra, 15. Peruvallur, 16. Trikkolom, 17. Olakkara, 18. Vallikunnu, 19. Tirurangadi, 20. Olavattur, 21. Muthuvallur, 22. Karumarakkad, 23. Kizhuparamba, 24. Areakode (The Adhigari A. Vasudevan Nambudiri was murdered by the rebels on 15-10-'21.), 25. Urangattri and 26. Cheekode.

PONNANI TALUK

1. Ponmudam, 2. Melmuri, 3. Vadakamprom, 4. Edayur, 5. Kattiparuthi, 6. Thozhuvannur, 7. Athavanad, 8. Trikandiyur, 9. Valiakunnu and 10. Irimbiliyam.

THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY REBELS TO DISTRICT BOARD PROPERTIES

BUILDINGS (Malappuram Sub-Division.)

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[11] Amsom Cutcherry=Office of the village Headman.

1. *Ucharakadavu* :—Roof partly burnt. Doors and windows partly burnt. All furniture either damaged or removed. Portions of wall of the outhouse dismantled.

2. *Mannarghat dispensary* :—Roof partly burnt. Doors and windows smashed. Furniture removed.

3. *Mannarghat Travellers' Bungalow* :—Doors and windows smashed. Flooring damaged.

4. *Wandoor Travellers' Bungalow* :—Doors and windows removed and burnt. Furniture removed.

5. *Pandicad Travellers' Bungalow* :—Roof burnt. Furniture partly burnt and partly smashed.

6. *Kalikavu Rest house* :—Entirely burnt.

7. *Nilambur Travellers' Bungalow* :—Portions of roof burnt. Furniture smashed.

8. *Edakara Rest house* :—Roofing completely burnt.

9. *Areacode Travellers' Bungalow* :—Roofing completely burnt.

10. *Karuvarakundu Rest house* :—Entirely burnt.

11. *Parambale Rest house* :—Doors and windows smashed.

12. *Tirurangadi Travellers' Bungalow* :—Doors and window shutters smashed. Furniture removed.

13. *Valiyora Market* :—Thatched roof burnt.

PALGHAT SUB-DIVISION

1. *Vykathur Shed* :—Doors and windows removed and burnt. Furniture removed or damaged. Roofing tiles broken.

2. *Edapal toll shed* :—Doors and windows pulled down. Furniture broken.

3. *Tirur Travellers' Bungalow* :—Furniture removed.

CALICUT TALUK

1. *Puthupadi Satram* :—Furniture removed. Roof partly damaged.

2. *Peruvayil Bungalow* :—Furniture removed.

3. *Manasseri School* :—Furniture removed.

4. *Tamarasseri Dispensary* :—Furniture removed.

5. *Tamarasseri Chowki* :—Furniture removed.

BRIDGES (Malappuram Sub-Division.)

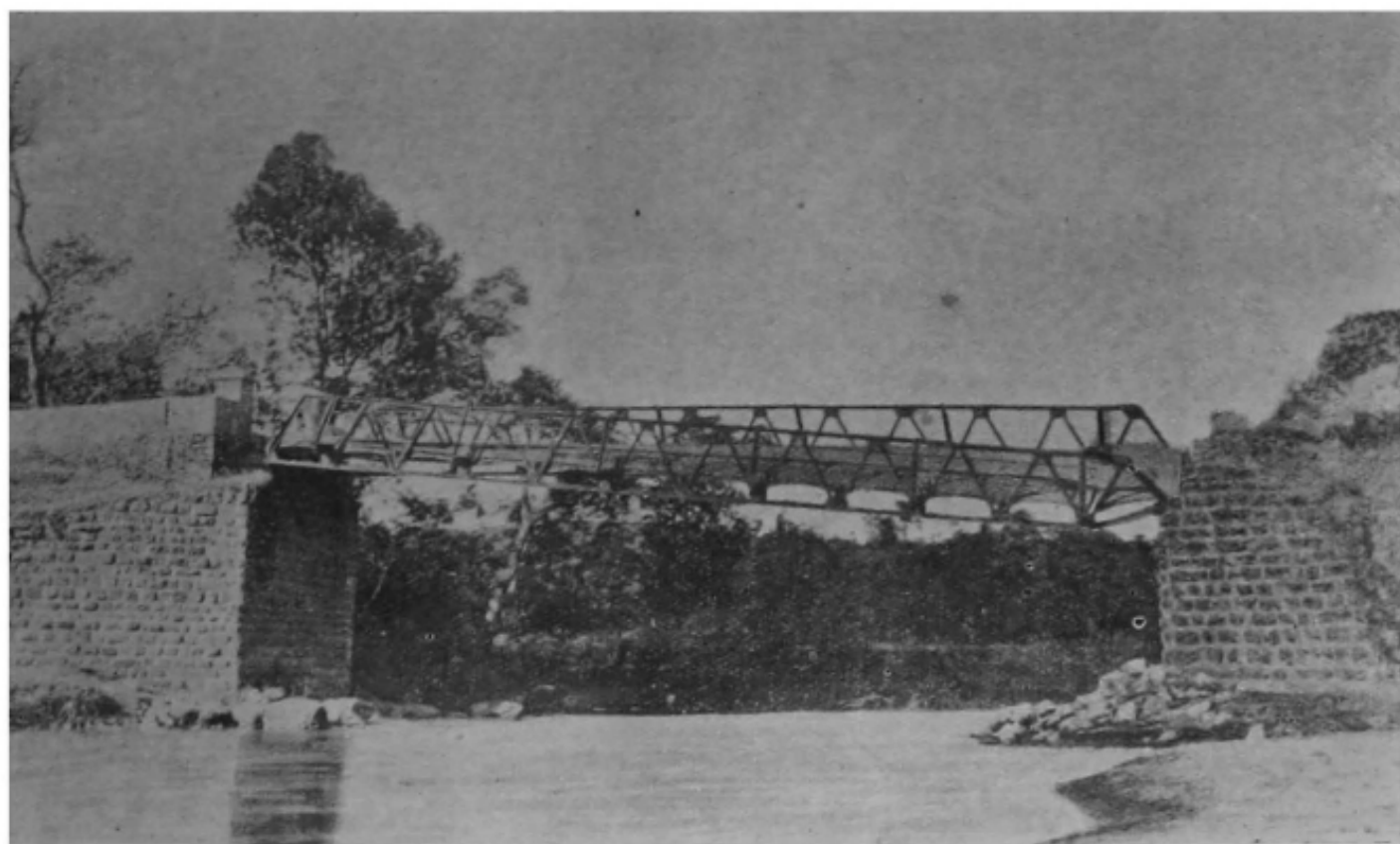
Calicut-Nadghani Road, No. 5 :—1. Ramanadkhara Bridge, 2. Morayen, 3. Karikad, 4. Mambad, 5. Karimpuzha, 6. Edamala, 7. Edakkara.

Mongam-Walayur Road No. 6 :—8. Oradam, 9. Arur.

PALGHAT SUB-DIVISION

10. Nellipuzha, 11. Churiot, 12. Muchanthodu, 13. Thuppanad and 14. Vazhayilthodu.

Tirur-Manjeri Road No. 57 :—15. Kottakkal Puthur and 16. Panazhi.

Manjeri-Melatur Road, No. 55 :—17. Nellikuth, 18. Olipuzha, 19. Ucharakadavu, 20. Chavalthodu, 21. Aroor.

Churiot Bridge. Abutments on one side dismantled to a depth of about 5 ft. R. C. Jack arch of one pannel broken and bridge left hanging below road level.

Edavanna-Kalikavu Road No. 53 :—22. Timber Bridge near Tiruvati, 23. Bridge near Wandur, 24. Timber Bridge at 11/4, 25. Bridge at 13/4.

Pattambi-Perintalmanna Road No. 54 :—26. Erayur Bridge, 27. Kottapara.

Perintalmania-Pandicad Road No.54 :—28. Bridge near Patticad.

Pandicad-Wandur Road No. 54 :—29. Kakkathodu Bridge, 4/1.

Ottappalam-Cherpulchari Road No. 81 :—30. Arch Bridge at 9/1.

Mundur-Perintalmanna Road No. 66 :—31. Kakkathodu Bridge 26/6. 32. Bridges at 33/1 and 34/6, 33. Bridge at 32/3.

Kuttippuram-Angadippuram Road No. 65 :—34. Vylangara Bridge.

Pulamanthole-Malappuram Road No. 63 :—35. Bridge at 9/7, 36. Bridge at 10/3, 37. Bridge at 12/5.

Malappuram-Tirurangadi Road No. 61 :—38. Bridges at 4/7 and 3/7, 39. Timber Bridge at 7/1, 40. Timber Bridge at 7/5.

Anakayam-Pandicad Road No. 116 :—41. Bridge at 7/2.

PONNANI TALUK

42. Tirur Bridge.

CALICUT TALUK

Kunnamangalam-Areacode Road No. 49 :—43. Kallanthodu Bridge, 44. Arched Bridge at 14/2.

In addition to the above 44 bridges; 27 culverts were also damaged by the rebels in the rebel area.

HINDU TEMPLES

It has not been found possible to ascertain the number of temples wholly or partially destroyed and the numbers descecrated. In reply to a question by Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nair M. L. C., in the Legislative Council Madras, it was stated that ”no statistics have been compiled, but the number of temples destroyed or descecrated must exceed 100. The number is probably large, but for obvious reasons the Government have purposely refrained from attempting to collect accurate figures.” (Legislative Council interpellation, November 14th ’22).

In respect of temples the following observations by Mr. Prabhakaran Thampan M. L. C. will not be out of place.

Moplahs, who make such a great fuss about the Inviolable sanctity of their Mosques appear to imagine that they can desecrate or destroy Hindu temples with impunity. It is this spirit of religious antagonism which renders all hope of Hindu-Moslem Unity in Malabar impossible. I am anxious that it should be brought home to the ignorant Moplah that the Hindus regard their temples as sacrosanct as they do their mosques. This can only be done by Moplah religious leaders.” (*Madras Mail dated 22-11-22*).

There is hardly a village that has not its own temple, in the majority of villages there is more than one, and almost every temple in the rebel area has been desecrated.

In view of the number of Hindu Temples destroyed as above, the following question and answer regarding Mosques and Moplah Schools will be read with interest.

Q.—Mr. A. D. Bavotti Sahib: will the Hon. tha Home Member be pleased to state

How many Mosques and Madarasas (indigenous schools) were burnt or destroyed by the Military or Police forces in the rebellion.

A.—The Government are not aware that any Mosques were burnt or destroyed by the Military or Police during the rebellion and would be glad if the Hon. Member would inform them if he knows of any such cases. As regards Madarasas, the Government have no information (Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 21st December '22, page 1098).

HINDU AND MOPLAH HOUSES

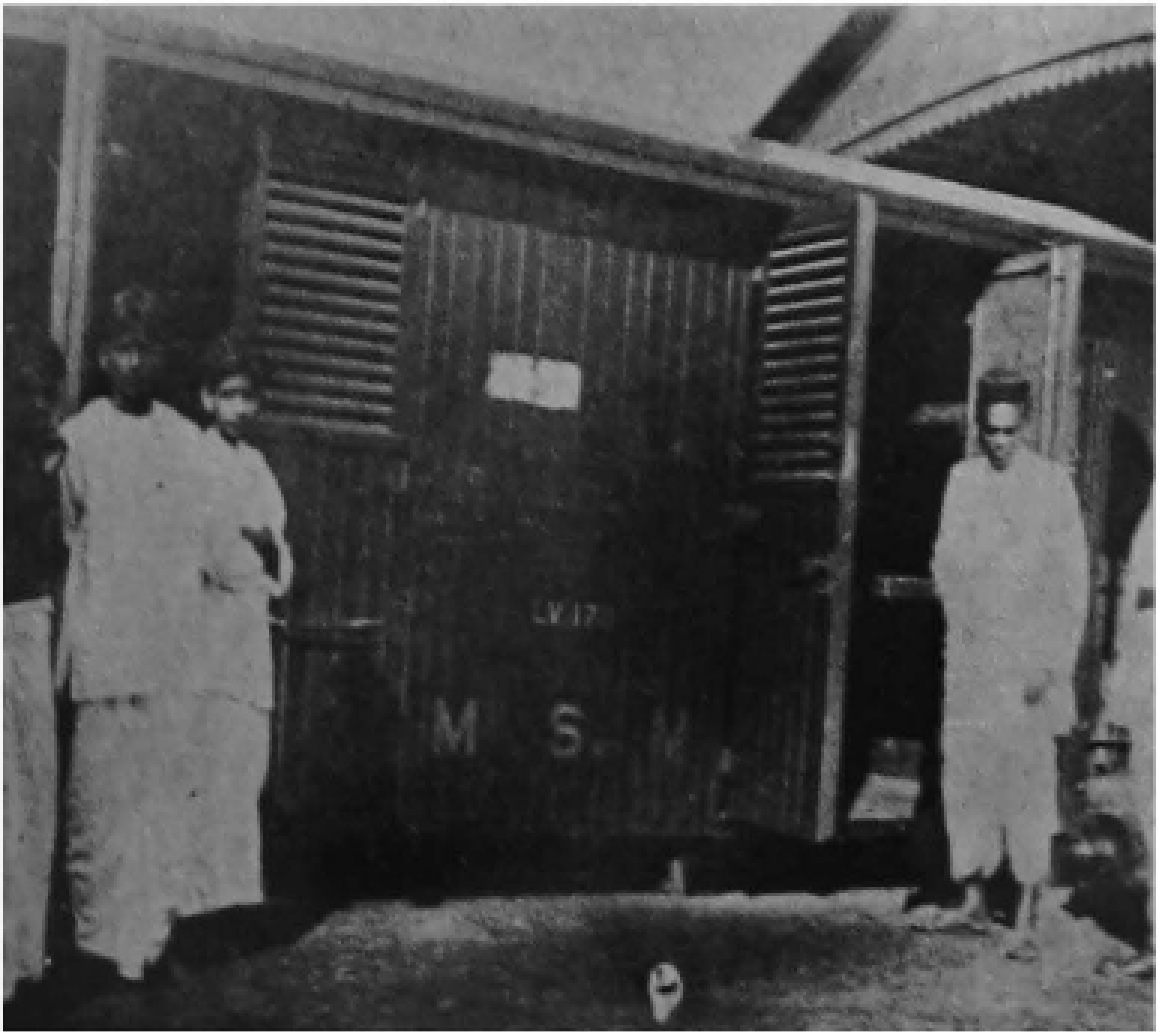
In reply to an interpellation in the Legislative Council by Mr. A. D. M. Bavotti Sahib, M. L, C., regarding the number of Hindu and Moplah houses looted and the number destroyed by the rebels the statement was made that "the Government have no precise information and in the nature of the case can never expect to obtain it." (Legislative Council, November 14th '22.)

CHAPTER VIII : THE TRAIN TRAGEDY

The following incident took place in the course of the rebellion :—

"On 19th Nov 1921 one hundred prisoners (97 Moplahs and 3 Hindus) convicted of offences connected with the rebellion were sent by train from Tirur to Coimbatore. They were entrained in M. S. & S. M. Railway Luggage Van No. 1711 attached to the rear end of the evening, train No. 77 from Calicut. On arrival at Podanur, the prisoners were all found lying down in a state of collapse. Fifty-six including the three Hindus had died. Forty-four survivors were taken to Coimbatore. Of them six died on being taken out of the train at that station. Of those remaining, thirteen were sent to the Civil Hospital, Coimbatore and twenty-five to the Central Jail, Hospital. Of the thirteen taken to the hospital, 2 died on arrival and four more in the same afternoon and two on the 26th. The total number of deaths thus amounted to 70.

"The Government of Madras appointed a Committee of Enquiry and on the result being reported, the Government of India passed orders on 30th August 1922.

"The Government concur in the view of the committee that the use of luggage vans for the conveyance of prisoners in such an emergency was not in itself objectionable, or inhuman. Though not intended for passengers the vans were not closed trucks, but ventilated vehicles and where the venetians were not obstructed; there was sufficient perforation to enable a considerable number of prisoners to be carried in them in safety.

VAN NO. 1711.

”They agree also with the Committee that practice of using vehicles of this exceptional type which were never intended for the conveyance of human beings, should not have been left to the unregulated discretion of subordinates but should have been brought under proper regulation. They concur also in the view of the Committee that for the omission to take this precaution, the Military Commander cannot be held responsible.

”The Government of India appreciate the admirable services rendered during the rebellion by Mr. Evans and Mr. Hitchcock and they recognise the arduous character of the work which devolved upon them. They cannot but greatly regret that neither of these officers took steps to bring the practice of conveying prisoners in these luggage vans under proper regulation. Had it been laid down that a responsible civil officer should in consultation with the railway authorities satisfy himself that the ventilation of each van was adequate for the number of prisoners despatched in it, it is almost certain that no loss of life would have occurred.

”As between Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. Evans, the Government of India think the larger share of the responsibility attaches to Mr. Evans, who was constantly at Tirur and had therefore greater opportunities for looking into the arrangements at that place for the transport of prisoners and was the Superior Officer.

“They cannot however, agree with the Committee that Sergeant Andrews cannot be blamed for using this particular van. As the Police Officer in charge, he should not have limited his inspection of the van to the question of security, but should have satisfied himself that the accommodation was suitable for the conveyance of the prisoners.

”There is independent testimony that the noise from the van was such as to suggest that the prisoners were in distress. The Committee observe that it is not possible to define with complete certainty, the nature of the clamour made by the prisoners, but they cannot avoid the conclusion that the shouting and the meaning and calling for water and air must have been so exceptional and so striking that they ought to have attracted the special attention of the Sergeant and his escort. The Government of India concur in this conclusion.

”They do not wish to dispute the views of the Committee that Sergeant Andrews was not guilty of deliberate inhumanity, but they consider that in disregarding the cries and failing to investigate for himself the reasons for what must, in the words of the Committee, have been a very unusual clamour, both in extent and nature the Sergeant displayed culpable negligence. They Also agree with the Committee that the Head-constable and constables who failed to convey to Sergeant Andrews a clearer understanding of the position which their better knowledge of the language must have given them, must

share in this condemnation.

”The Government of India have instructed the Government of Madras that a prosecution should be instituted against Sergeant Andrews. It will rest with that Government to decide what action, in view of the findings above recorded, should be taken in regard to the Head constable and the constables.” (*Madras Mail*)

Sergeant Andrews and the Policemen were accordingly prosecuted but discharged.

The Madras Government have sanctioned a compassionate allowance of Rs. 300 to the families of each of the 70 deceased prisoners. (Order No. 290 dated 1st April ’22).

CHAPTER IX : RELIEF MEASURES

"Our grateful thanks are due to the many philanthropists and public bodies for the aid they have ungrudgingly given us in our hour of trial. It is a matter of great gratification that people outside this presidency, especially in Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab have shown by their deeds that charity knows no limitations of clime or country. It is always invidious to mention names, but I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without referring gratefully to the invaluable assistance rendered by Mr. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society and the ladies who came with him all the way from Bombay." (Speech of the Zamorin Raja of Calicut at the Conference held at Calicut on 19th Feb. '23).

"Within a few days of the outbreak of the rebellion in August 1921, the necessity was realised of giving relief to the thousands of people who had fled from their homes for their lives and congregated in a few centres. A few leading public spirited gentlemen of Calicut at once organised themselves into a Committee for this purpose, and did good work by collecting funds in Calicut and elsewhere and by carrying provisions into the interior despite dangerous risks." Report of the Malabar Central Relief Committee Nov. 23rd '22.

Pudiara Camp (Camp I). Men, Women and Children ready for meal.
The Central Relief Committee.

Much more was required than local efforts in Calicut could supply and in September the Servants of India Society deputed Mr. G. K. Devadhar to visit Malabar and take necessary steps for the grant of relief.

By October, the Arya Samaj Society deputed Pandit Rishi Ram to visit Malabar for the relief of the distressed refugees and for the reconversion of Hindus who had been forcibly converted to the Moslem faith.

By 5th October the Kerala Congress Committee, Calicut commenced giving relief to the refugees in Calicut.

The measures are briefly narrated in the accompanying reports. To this have been added a short description of the relief of refugees at Mankavu, Kottakkal, Mankada, Kavalapara and Kolathur in Malabar, and Trichur in Cochin State.

I. THE CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., *Vice-President*.

Mr. G. T. Verghese, B. A. Diwan Bahadur, *Vice-President*.

"In September, the Servants of India Society deputed Mr. G. K. Devadhar and three other members to visit Malabar, investigate into the conditions, and decide upon organising the work of relief with the co-operation of local organisations, the Government and also by inviting other philanthropic bodies, if necessary to join the work. Mr. Devadhar and party after a perilous tour in the affected area, placed their scheme of relief before the Provisional Committee, and the Malabar Central Relief Committee was formed on October 9th, the Servants of India Society offering their services to collect funds all over the country and to organise work in Malabar.

From October, Concentration Camps were formed with kitchen relief in Calicut and rice doles in the mofussil. As the numbers of refugees increased, day by day, new camps were opened. Within a few weeks there were 22 camps in all, with about 26,000 refugees of all castes and creeds.

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"The Y. M. C. A. arrived on the scene at the end of November and in addition to the welfare work in the camps they also took up the management of a large camp under the Central Relief Committee.

"About the beginning of January the refugees began to leave the camps for their homes and the Committee gave liberal repatriation doles in money, ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 per family in addition to a week's provisions and the wages earned by them under the employment scheme, all of which helped them considerably in restoring their lives. The Relief camps were closed at the end of February, with the exception of one in Calicut for forced converts, decrepit, old and infirm people and this was maintained till July.

"The Committee's attention after February was directed to the relief of those who did not receive help from the Government who had by that time

begun to grant loans, etc., to the sufferers. For about 3 months, the bulk of the people who received the Committee's help were mostly destitute Moplah women and children whose cause was represented to the Committee by the Special Commissioner after investigation of the Committee appointed by him to enquire into the distress of these people. The Committee's intention was to close its work by the end of May by giving valedictory doles to such of the deserving cases as have not received help from any other source: Housing grants to the extent of Rs. 5,000 which assisted the restoration of about thousand homesteads and doles of rice were distributed during this period in addition to cloth and medicines. On the recommendations of the relief workers, the representations of local people, observations of outside visitors, and the Government, the Committee decided to continue its operations till the end of September when the first harvest was expected. Accordingly Mr. Devadhar previous to his third visit to Malabar, arranged to issue a second appeal by Bombay Relief Committee to the country to help the Committee in their resolve.

"From June the Committee began the distribution of relief in grain and cloth to all, irrespective of caste and creed who were found to be in need of them after careful scrutiny by its workers and till September over 6000 families were relieved in about 115 amsoms.

“At this period the Committee embarked upon a very costly and complicated scheme of opening cheap grain depots in various centres in the interior; the success of which was greatly facilitated by the concessions granted by the Imperial Bank of India. This scheme in addition to the supply of cheap grain and free distribution as necessity demanded helped to maintain the level of prices throughout the affected area thus rendering an indirect relief to all people.

"The total receipts of the Committee amount to Rs. 3,07,696-15-8 excluding articles in kind especially cloth worth over 60,000 Rs. received mostly from the munificent mill-owners of Bombay while the expenditure amount to Rs. 2,72,094-2-5 with a bank balance of Rs. 35,602-13-3.

“The Servants of India Society were requested to undertake the work of re-construction by starting a centre on the West Coast and the balance of the funds at the disposal of the Committee has been for this purpose of re-construction consolidated into a Trust Fund of re-construction after the name of Mr. Devadhar who rendered to Malabar in her hour of distress such incalculable services which will ever gratefully be cherished by her people. The fund will be known as the "Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Fund." (Report of the Central Relief Committee).

II. THE ARYA SAMAJ SOCIETY

Pandit Rishi Ram B.A., Arya Missionary arrived in Calicut on 11th

November '21 and after inquiry into local conditions started relief on the 29th. By January '22, the number of refugees receiving rice dolls from the Arya Samaj went up to 1800. In March, another centre was opened at Mayanad with 4000 women and children and this continued for two months. In the months of June, July and August, when owing to excessive rains and want of work, people were in very great difficulties, Arya Samaj distributed rice from five different centres,—Calicut, Tuvur, Nilambur, Tirurangadi and Neeralamukh and the total number of daily recipients was more than 10,000. The Arya Samaj has spent Rs. 45,000/- on relief work and on re-conversion of forced converts up to the end of September 1922. The whole of this money except two or three small donations from local persons was received from Punjab and other places outside Madras Presidency.

RICE DISTRIBUTION, ARYA SAMAJ CENTRE, TIRURANGADI.

III. KERALA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

K. Madhavan Nair, B.A., B.L., *Superintendent of the Relief Branch, Calicut.*

The Committee commenced giving relief at Manjeri on 9th September 1921 and at Calicut on 5th October.

On 17th January 1922 it was decided by the working committee of the Congress that able-bodied refugees should not be granted relief gratuitously, but that they should work.

On 28th February relief was stopped to such of the refugees who did not work. Most of the refugees returned to their homes.

On 1st March the number remaining for relief at Calicut was 1127, exclusive of Moplahs from the interior to whom relief was extended for one week.

On 8th September 1922 relief at Calicut was wholly stopped.

The particulars of receipts and expenditure are shown below —

Total receipts Rs. 1,53,557 Ana 6 Pai 3 Expenditure Rs. 1,28,962 Ana 7 Pai 6

This includes: Relief to Calicut and the rebel area.

Refugees Rs. 92,221 Ana 4 Pai 10

Trichur Rs. 8,855

Palghat Rs. 2,700

Paid to spinning school for refugees Rs. 9,258 Ana 4

THE MANKAVU PALACE, CALICUT

M. R. Ry. The Zamorin Raja of Calicut. Rao Bahadur K. Sreenivasa Rao, Estate Collector.

Within a week of the outbreak Nambudiri refugees, began to flock at the doors of the Mankavu Palace in large numbers. Whole families had come from the eastern part of the Calicut Taluk and also from the adjoining villages of the Ernad Taluk. The camp started giving relief on the 27th August 1921. In the beginning for some time the strength of the camp stood between 500 and 600 souls. Later many left for Cochin and Travancore States when the panic of the rebellion spreading to Calicut became greater and more intense. The influx of new refugees was however continuous, and the decrease in strength was not appreciable during the height of the rebellion. The camp was continued till the end of February. The average daily attendance was about 350. They were fed twice daily and they were supplied with oil and other necessaries of life according to usage. There were a few deaths among the aged and diseased and among the children. The death rate was not out of normal. There were many births also. There were no epidemics. The condition of the refugees was on the whole satisfactory. There was a great disinclination on the part of a large number to leave the camp when it was

disbanded. A small number had held on even after. The relief on the whole cost about Rs. 16,000/-

Side-view of the Mooriat (Camp Camp) II in Calicut when the Doctor is on his usual round while the refugees are being served their meal.
The Central Relief Committee.

KOTTAKKAL PALACE

M. R. Ry. Manavikraman Raja (Kutti Ettan Raja), Kizhekkekovilagam, Kottakkal.

Kottakkal is situated in Ernad Taluk and is eight miles from the Tirur Railway Station. It is the headquarters of the Kizhekkekovilagam or Eastern Branch of the Zamorin Raja's Swarupam[12].

The rebellion broke out on the 20th August 1921; Kottakkal is only 8 miles from Tirurangadi and on 21st August a mob of Moplahs approached the palace threateningly. They were persuaded to return. It as an anxious time for the Kottakkal family. They had to defend themselves against attacks by the rebels and they had to maintain the refugees who were pouring in. The resident Karanavan maintained the traditions of the family; he arranged for the defence and also for the relief.

The Palace is a substantial building, with high walls and gate-houses and watchmen were posted at different points for purposes of defence. Outside the Palace over 750 men consisting chiefly of Moplahs were employed during the first two weeks and as the fury abated the numbers were reduced and the Moplahs were replaced by Nayars as far as possible. The escape of Kottakkal and the Palace from the attacks of the rebels is mainly the result of Mr. Austin's timely intercession and of the assistance rendered by the Military. The family feels deeply indebted to Messrs. Austin and Evans; Colonel Humphreys and Colonel Radcliffe and also Major Weldon.

The number of watchmen :—During the first two weeks 750; third week 275; fourth and fifth weeks 207; sixth week 125; and next 3 months 60.

Refugees began coming in by 22nd August. There was on an average 576 refugees daily and the relief closed on 11th February 1922. The total amount spent is Rs. 27,424,

MANKADA PALACE

Rao Bahadur Krishna Varma Raja of Mankada.

Mankada is situated in Walluvanad Taluk, six miles from the Talak headquarters, Perintalmanna. The family is a branch of the Walluvanad Rajas's Swarupam.

The Kovilakam was thrown into a panic a day after the outbreak (20th August 1921) and at once the local tenants including the Moplahs were organised as watchmen. After the looting of the Treasury at Perintalmanna a regular system of patrol was adopted and watchposts constructed. There were about fifteen of them all round the Palace walls. The total number of regularly paid watchmen exceeded 800. There was frequent supervision all round by the Palace agents.

[12] Swarapam=Family.

Relief for those who sought protection began on the 21st August 1921. The number of persons fed, began with 100 and gradually increased till it reached to about 2000 after the 25th of the month when murders and conversions commenced. This number continued with variations till December when gradually the refugees began to go back to their homes. It was by the end of April 1922 that all the refugees left.

There was no actual attempt made by the rebels to enter the Kovilakam but thrice there were rumours of impending attacks. But, the rebels, for some reason or other, did not venture on an attack. On the 30th of August 1921 the Government sent 15 Reserve Policemen. About the 1st of October the Government sent 50 soldiers, belonging to the 64th Pioneers. They were after a week relieved by the Dorsets who were after a month replaced by the Gurkhas. The Gurkhas left in December.

It is not possible to give correct figures as to the amount of loss sustained by the Kovilakam. But Rs. 20,000 will be only below the actual expenses incurred for the relief.

THE KAVALAPPARA KOTTARAM

The above is the residence of Lieutenant Kavalappara Moopil Nayar, the head of an ancient and aristocratic Nair family. It is two miles from the railway station of Shoranur.

It is this family that ruled the Moplah out of their jurisdiction and it has been the custom from time immemorial that in the seven amsoms that constitute their jurisdiction no Moplah shall reside or hold land an exception in respect of a day's residence being made in favour of Moplahs who attended the shandy or weekly market at Vaniyamkulam for the sale of their goods. They come and they go and, except on the night of their arrival, they are not expected to stay,

Refugees began coming in by 1st October 1921 and the relief was started at the Mupil Nayar's expense. By 10th October the Kavalappara Relief camp was affiliated to the Central Relief Committee, Calicut contributed Rs. 8,299-14-0 towards the relief at Kavalappara. The Moopil Nayar gave an initial subscription of Rs. 300 to the relief fund and spent considerable amounts for the relief of the refugees.

From the date of the opening the camp, viz., 10th October, the number of refugees began to increase rapidly and by the 14th of that month it rose above 1,000 and the increase continued steadily until the highest figure—1,523—was reached on 1st December 1921. Without any remarkable decrease the number remained high till 14th January 1922 and it was only after that date it fell below 1,000. Concurrently with the increase in number, strenuous efforts were made to provide able-bodied male refugees with work and this went a great way to keep down the number of refugees given relief and also

accounts for much smaller number of male refugees compared to women and children.

Form of relief:— Relief was given in this camp throughout the whole period in rice doles at the rate of *2 nazhis*[13] for adults and 1 *nazhi* for children per day with also salt and chillies at two centres viz., Vaniyamkulam and Kavalappara where the refugees assembled every morning. Cloth relief was also granted to refugees at intervals selecting poor and ill-clad refugees for such relief. Gingelly oil for full oil-bath was also supplied on six occasions.

KOLATHUR

M. R. Ry. Sulapani Varier is the head of Kolathur Tarwad,[14] an ancient and aristocratic family which has suffered more than once at the hands of the Moplah fanatics. In August 1851, exactly seventy years ago, Moplah fanatics attacked the house, brought out into the paddy-field the head of the family, an old man of seventy-nine, and hacked him into pieces. In September 1873 fanatics murdered a junior member of the family in the absence of the senior.

On the present occasion Kolathur family, Kolathur village and thousands of refugees from outlying villages were saved by the efforts of the Moopil Varier, who had to be thankful to his ancestors for the wise precaution taken by them after the outbreak of September 1873 in having converted an ancient building into a fortified mansion with strong walls and iron-barred doors, sufficiently strong to resist the attack of an ordinary Moplah mob.

On 22nd August 1921 morning a mob of Moplahs approached this strong mansion but found themselves almost helpless against it, and the Moopil Varier was able, by persuasion and by threats, to induce them to go back, of course for a consideration which in the present instance took the shape of 50 *paras* of paddy. By evening the local Moplahs repented of their morning madness and co-operated with the Moopil Varier in organising a strong guard of about 300 men, Hindus and Moplahs, for the safety of the place.

By 24th, streams of refugees began to flock to Kolathur from outlying villages and were granted relief at great cost and inconvenience. The number swelled up to 1,000 for a few days, and gradually fell off until relief was stopped in February 1922.

TRICHUR RELIEF COMMITTEE

COCHIN STATE

M. R. Ry. K. Kochu Govinda Marar Avl., *Chairman, Municipal Council, Trichur and Secretary, Relief Committee.*

The Relief measures adopted in Cochin State are detailed in the following order of the Government of H. H. The Maharaja of Cochin :—

[13] Nazhi=Small Malabar measure.
[14] Tarwad=Family.

G. O. dated 3rd April 1922, C. No. 1174/97.

Government have perused with interest the report submitted by the Chairman of the Trichur Municipal Council on the relief measures carried on at Trichur. These operations covered a period of four months from the early days of October 1921 and ending with January 1922 and were themselves necessitated by the disturbances in British Malabar which for the time being brought to a stand-still the normal machinery for the protection of person and property.

2. Situated so close to the affected area the Government were well aware that these disturbances would not leave the State unaffected and that the helpless people would throng into the State for protection and relief. And so it happened. At the first signs of the inrush a public meeting was held at Ernakulam and a Central Relief Committee was formed to concert measures for the relief of distress among these refugees, Public subscriptions were invited. The Government offered Rs. 2,000. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to offer Rs. 1,000 and the Diwan and the Paliath Valia Achan offered Rs. 500 each. Subscriptions amounting to Rs. 5,000 were collected on the spot and the work of relief began, the Government undertaking to meet any deficit that might accrue. The scheme of relief was intended to cover the whole State wherever the refugees were found and to effect this the Diwan Peishkar and the Registrar of Village Panchayats were put in touch with the Central Relief Committee.

3. The operations at Trichur and its environments formed but one part of the general scheme of relief, though by far the most important part. There were at one time as many as 8,425 persons on the relief list at Trichur comprising 3,125 men, 4,181 women and 1,219 children distributed over 240 camps—many of them spacious buildings generously placed at the disposal of the Committee by private citizens. The total expenditure on relief works in Trichur amounted to Rs. 48,720-3-9. In the Government Orders read above the Government have already given a donation of Rs. 10,000 for relief work and have also aided the Chairman with advances to the extent of Rs. 10,000 towards the same purpose. Government are now pleased to order that the advances thus far sanctioned might be treated as outright gifts. They are furtber pleased to order that a further sum of Rs. 17,904-8-6 be sanctioned to meet the outstanding liabilities incurred by the Trichur Municipal Chairman for the work of relief.

RELIEF CAMP—ARYA SAMAJ, CALICUT.

CHAPTER X : GOVERNMENT LOANS

In his letter dated 30th March, issued with G. O. No. 263 dated 26th April, 1922, the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp made the following remarks on the subject of repairing rebellion losses :—

"Of the Hindus who fled from the rebellion area a Considerable number mainly Jenmis have not yet returned. Of the rest many have gone back to their amsoms to find their houses either wholly or partially destroyed. Immediately on the removal of the Martial Law I took steps to enable these sufferers to start at once on the restoration of their houses. Under a scheme which I submitted for the sanction of the Government, advances under the Agricultural Loans Act are being made to all such sufferers for the purpose of re-building. The money is granted free of interest for a year in the first instance. An establishment consisting of two Superintendents of Reconstruction with a staff of seven supervisors is at work and will by the end of this month have dealt with half the affected area. The restoration of houses had already commenced on my last visit to Ernad and save in the case of the larger houses will be completed well before the monsoon. In addition to money lent for restoration of buildings, advances are also being made for the purchase of seed and implements and also for the maintenance of the applicant and his family until the next harvest." (*West Coast Spectator*, dated 16th May 1922).

LOANS SANCTIONED

"With a view to afford temporary assistance in the reconstruction of their affairs to those who have suffered loss as the result of the Moplah rebellion, the Special Commissioner for Malabar affairs recommended the following proposals for the advance of loans under the Agriculturists Loans Acts, 1884.—

1. That loans may be given for the reconstruction of houses and where absolutely necessary, for the replacement of lost cattle and for the relief of distress in the parts of the Malabar District where Martial Law has been in

force.

2. That the period of the loans for the present be one year.

3. That all loans for the restoration of houses and the replacement of lost cattle shall be free of interest for one year : loans for the relief of distress up to a maximum of Rs. 200 in each case shall be free of interest for one year, and loans exceeding that limit shall bear interesst at 4% per annum.

4. That the following officers shall be competent to sanction loans up to the limits indicated :—

a. Superintendents of Reconstruction up to Rs. 1000 in each case.

b. Divisional Officers up to Rs. 2500 in each case.

c. The Collector up to Rs. 5000 in each case.

d. The Special commissioner for Malabar affairs up to Rs. 10,000 in each case.

5. That individual loans up to the following limits may be sanctioned on a summary enquiry and on the borrower's simple bond, with a surety where possible. The Jenmi's guarantee on behalf of the tenants is also being obtained wherever it is possible to do so without delaying the relief operations :

a. For the purchase of cattle Rs. 100

b. For the relief of distress Rs. 200

c. For the restoration of houses Rs. 250

6. That loans in excess of the limits specified in clause (5) above shall be subject to the ordinary routine of application and inquiry."

These proposals received the sanction of the Government.

The report of the Collector of Malabar on the reconstruction loans is appended. (Order No. 176 Public dated 6th March 1923.)

I have the honour to submit the report called for by Government on the reconstruction loans.

2. By the end of January 1922, the back of the rebellion had been broken and most of the amsams in Ernad and Walluvanad were safe. It was imperative that the thousands of refugees should return home and begin the cultivation of their fields. Much of the Kanni crop of 1921 bad been lost and there had been little sowing in the Makarom season. If famine was to be averted a crop must be sown in the spring of 1922. But many of the refugees had lost everything. Their houses had been burnt or damaged; their vessels and their stock of paddy looted; their ploughing cattle slaughtered and tbeir seed stolen. The poorer refugees were without resources. They could settle down in their amsams only if they were given money to repair their houses and to buy food; they could not begin cultivation till they had money for seed, ploughs and cattle.

3. Mr. Knapp, the Special Commissioner for Malabar, having had a preliminary survey of the conditions in a few amsams made by Mr. Kunhiraman Nayar, proposed to Government that assistance in the reconstruction of their affairs be given to sufferers from the rebellion by a free use of the Agriculturist Loans Act. This Act permits the giving of loans for the purchase of seed-grain and ploughing cattle, for the rebuilding of houses, and in times of distress for the enabling of agriculturists and their dependents to subsist till reaping of the next harvest. As it was essential that help should be given quickly Mr. Knapp proposed that individual loans up to a maximum of Rs. 100 for the purchase of cattle, Rs. 200 for subsistence till the next harvest and Rs. 250 for the restoration of houses might be sanctioned on a summary inquiry and on the borrowers simple bond with a surety if possible. The loans, it was suggested, might be for one year in the first instance and be free of interest for that year, the terms on which these should be repaid being decided before the year was up. Loans above Rs. 200 for the relief of distress, however, were to bear interest at 4 per cent. Government by G. O. No. 173 dated 23rd February 1922, accepted these proposals and empowered the Superintendent of Reconstruction, the Divisional officers, the Collector and the Special Commissioner to grant loans up to varying maxima. Ten lakhs of rupees were placed at the disposal of the Collector.

4. The work of granting loans on summary inquiry was given to two Superintendents of Reconstruction of the grade of Deputy Collector, under whom worked seven Supervisors. The Supervisors went from amsom to amsom explaining the scheme, recording applications and investigating them. The Superintendents followed, decided the application, took bonds from the borrowers and paid them on the spot. Loans above the amounts which might be given on summary inquiry were granted by the Collector and the Divisional officers after the inquiry prescribed under the Act had been made by the Superintendents of Reconstruction. The loans rose from Rs. 46,034 in March when the work began to Rs. 6,72,123 by the end of June. The majority of the earlier loans were given mainly for the repair of houses and the purchase of seed, cattle and ploughs. In July and August, the period between the sowing and the harvest, which even in normal years is a time of hardship, loans were taken mainly for subsistance. A depot for the sale of seed bought from unaffected portions of Walluvanad was opened at Manjeri and borrowers were given the option of taking their loans in seed or money. Most took money.

5. In all Rs. 8,97,401 have been lent to some 13,500 borrowers. This includes comparatively large loans to four rubber companies to enable them to reconstruct buildings which had been destroyed and to carry on their business, which involves the employment of large numbers. Rs. 1,55,750

have been given for the purchase of seed ploughs and tools; Rs. 3,60748 for subsistence; Rs. 2,60,650 for the restoration of houses and Rs. 1,11,253 for the purchase of cattle. About Rs. 3,92,275 have been given in sums of less than Rs. 100. Most of the loans are for one year in the first instance and are free of interest for that year. Loans at 7.5 per cent for the restoration of houses have been given to Moplas whose loyalty was suspect but who were in need of assistance. The smaller loans have been granted on the borrower's simple bond with a surety wherever possible. The larger loans are secured by mortgages on immovable property of the borrowers.

6. The scheme of granting loans achieved its purpose. Once the scheme became known there was a marked increase in the number of refugees returning to Ernad and Walluvanad. The refugees from the Calicut taluk even after the camps in Calicut Town were closed hesitated to return to their homes, clustered in camp outside Calicut. The Superintendent and his Supervisors visited the camp, explained the scheme, and set going a movement of return. In Ernad and Walluvanad the acreage cultivated was above the normal average. Competent observers were of opinion that in July and August there was less privation than usual. The loans given to the rubber estates enabled them to begin work and to give employment to many persons in the areas most affected by the rebellion. There has been an excellent Kanni crop and the Makarom crop promises well. Normal conditions have been restored. The loans given by Government have been a very important factor in this speedy restoration.

7. The Reconstruction staff has done excellent work. The two Superintendents, Messrs. M. Kunhiraman Nayar and K. A. Mukundan deserve special mention. They were given a task which demanded initiative, energy and discrimination, and they have proved equal to it. One assumes integrity on the part of men of their class and standing; but it is worthy of note that at a time of many rumours they have distributed over four lakhs of rupees and that there has been no whisper against them.

CHAPTER XI : RECONVERSION

In view of a larger number of Hindus forcibly converted during the present rebellion, a meeting was held on August 20, 1922 under the presidency of the Zamorin Raja of Calicut with a council of Nambudiri Vaideekans[15] to decide the question of the future status of these forced converts.

The proceedings are quoted below:—

RE-CONVERSIONS

"The meeting of the Vaideekans, called by the Zamorin Raja of Calicut was held at tho Estate Office on Sunday, the 20th instant, 1922. Several leading gentlemen were present including the Zamorin, Mr. R. H. Ellis, Collector of Malabar and Mr. Sreenivasa Rao, the Estate Collector. The proceedings commenced at 3 o'clock and lasted about two hours. The object of the meeting, as already announced, was to consider the question of receiving back to the Hindu fold the great number of Hindus forcibly converted to Islam or compelled to do things against the accepted rules of Hindu Society. It was resolved after careful consideration among the Vaideekans present that the following 'prayachithams'[16] would be sufficient to expiate the sins forced upon the victims.

[15] Vaideekans=Purobits.

[16] Prayachithams=Expiatory ceremonies.

A group of forced converts—re-converted by Arya Samaj, Calicut.

RESOLUTIONS

"1. *Cutting the tuft, repeating the Kalima, earboring of women and wearing Moplah jackets* :—The victims in these cases are to take 'panchagavya'[17] for three days at any temple, to make whatever offerings they can and to repeat 'Narayana or Siva' at least 3,000 times every day.

2. Circumcision and co-habitation :—The remedy to be the same as mentioned above, but for 12 days the prayers are to be repeated 12,000 times a day.

3. Eating food cooked by Moplahs :—The victims in this case are to wash their sins off in the holy Sethu and to obtain a certificate to that effect from the temple authorities or the 'Purohits' and then observe the ceremonies prescribed in (1) and (2) for 41 days repeating the sacred names 12,000 times a day.

4. Sins not specified above are to be expiated by adopting the ceremonies fixed in (1) above to be continued for 21 days repeating Narayana or Siva 12,000 times a day.

"It was further resolved that these ceremonies, although ordinarily they ought to be done under the supervision of the Vaideekans, would be regarded as having been duly performed if the victims concerned produce a certificate from the owners of the temples or their kariasthans[18] that they have, in fact, observed the rules. This is specially intended to bring the 'prayachithams' within the power of all sorts of people who cannot, without great difficulty, have recourse to Vaideekans. Further this certificate has to be submitted to the Zamorin who in his turn is to certify formally that the sins above described have been properly expiated and that the persons concerned are restored to the condition which they have been occupying before the rebellion.

The rules mentioned above are inapplicable to the Brahmin converts." (*West Coast Spectator* August 22, 1922).

Our thanks are mainly due to the Arya Samaj Society for effecting reconversion of forced converts. "When the alarming news of a large number of Hindus forcibly converted into Islam reached Punjab, it shocked the Hindu public there and Mahatma Hans Raj, President of the Arya Pradeshaka Prati Nidhi Sabha of the Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan was moved to help these unfortunate brethren in Malabar." He sent Arya Missionary Pandit Rishi Ram to Calicut and he in addition to giving relief to the refugees took steps to effect re-conversion of forced converts. "When rebellion subsided, Arya Samaj workers proceeded to the rebel area and gave relief to those converted families who were still keeping back under the fear of rebels.

[17] Panchagavya=Five produets of a cow—(milk, ghee, curd, urine and dung.)

[18] Kariasthans=Agents.

They were brought to Calicut and other safe places and re-admitted into Hinduism again. A constant agitation was set on foot on their behalf with the result that the local gentlemen who were doubtful of re-admission took greater interest in the matter and advocated their re-admission in their respective circles of influence. Even after re-admission whenever any objection was raised by the orthodox people about giving equal treatment to the re-admitted persons, the Samaj workers were sent to explain matters and to persuade the people to treat them as their brethren as before the rebellion.

The result was that almost all the forced converts with the exception of a few stray cases were restored to Hinduism, who otherwise would have continued as Moplahs or formed some outcaste sections. In the Arya Samaj registers alone 1766 cases of forced converts have been recorded and if the figures from all relief committees were collected, their number is sure to exceed 2500." (Pandit Rishi Ram's Letter).

The work of the Arya Samaj in Malabar was unique : forcible conversion commenced with the Mysore conquest and during the past hundred years and more it was found impossible to effect re-conversion. A few families still exist in Malabar whose ancestors, were forcibly converted during the time of Tippu and who, on his departure relapsed to Hinduism but still remain as a separate section known as 'Chela Nayars,' without being permitted to associate with the ordinary Nayars. It was under these circumstances that Arya Samaj Society effected re-conversion : the converts had given up all hopes and to their great relief the Arya Samaj was prepared to put them back to the Hindu fold. No attempt would ever have been made by the Nambudiri Vaideekans but for the foundation laid by the Arya Samaj.

Hindu Malabar will ever be grateful to the Society and to its representative Pandit Rishi Ram.

In view, however of the rigidity of caste rules in Malabar and the possibility of this, re-conversion being called into question by the caste people, the decision of the Zamorin Raja and the Nambudiri Vaideekans conveying formal approval of the admission of the converts to caste privileges became necessary and we are thankful to them for their kind decision and also to Mr. R. H. Ellis, I. C. S., Collectar of Malabar, who showed great sympathy with the victims of Moplah fanaticism.

It is a pity however that the concession was not made applicable to the solitary Brahmin convert and it is also a pity that in Malabar in spite of the British administration for over a hundred years, forcible conversions should still exist.

A word about the method of conversion and re-conversion,—

Conversion—Man—Bath, clean shave of the head, wearing a Moplah cap and dress, recitation of prayers from Koran called Kalima: then dinner with

Moplahs, circumcision to be performed on a convenient date.

Woman—Bath, wearing Moplah women's jackets and coloured clothes : Recitation of Kalima, food. Ears is to be bored round the ear-flaps at a convenient date.

Re-conversion—The convert removes his Moslem clothes : then bathes and puts on Hindu white clothes. Repeats the Gayatri and Vedic mantras which is recited to him by the Arya Missionary,—and the convert is declared a Hindu. For males, a shave before bath in addition.

One Hindu family forcibly converted—Re-admitted by Arya Samaj with the Society Workers on the sides.

CHAPTER XII : THE HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

"In the respective individualities of the Hindu and the Moslem, it was a fact that could not be denied that there was something conflicting. Thus the greatest of all problems in India was the making of Islam and Hinduism to abide together and this would not come to pass by merely preaching Hindu-Moslem Unity." (Dr. Tagore's Lectures, *Madras Mail*, October, 3rd 1922.)

The problem defies solution; look into the past, "Tippu's brutal methods of obtaining converts to Islam which drove Rajahs and thousands of their principal adherents out of their own country, broke up the social organism, and engendered a fierce and abiding hatred between Hindus and Mohammedans, and in 1792 when the British took over Malabar, this animosity had reached a dangerous height, and the foundations of law and order had been undermined. South Malabar was in particular terrorised by bands of marauding Moplahs who found a secure retreat in the jungles of Ernad and Walluvanad." (*Malabar Gazetteer.*) The same ways and means : the same sphere of action : the same fierce and abiding hatred : and who knows whether the descendants of the marauding Moplahs of 1792 were not members of the rebel army of 1921?

Since then a series of fanatical outbreaks took place, all directed against Hindus, and with rare exceptions within a radius of 15 miles of the Pandalur Hills of Ernad Taluk, where the ignorant and bigoted Moplahs congregate. Everything that a civilised Government can be expected to do for the Moplahs has been done by the British Government. Special schools have been established for the Moplah; the rebel area has been opened up by roads; but fanaticism is still strong in the land and education has not made any appreciable advance in spite of the large expenditure incurred. In 1852 Mr. Strange reported that the condition of the Hindus was 'most lamentable' and that the 'prestige of the rule of Government had been much shaken in the District.' He proposed repressive measures against the Moplahs and whole villages were fined but there was no improvement. A series of outbreaks took place again,

one after the other until 1919 in which year the Moplahs murdered for no reason whatever, four Nambudiris and an Embrandiri. Agrarian discontent is trotted out on every occasion, and even in the present Moplah rebellion, an attempt was made to attribute it to agrarian discontent. The Khilafat Kings, Ali Musaliar and Kunhamad Haji, had no agrarian grievances, nor does it appear that the several leaders of the rebellion who indulged in lawlessness of the worst kind had any such grievances to redress.

Is there no way of repressing outbreaks in the fanatical zone?

In 1852 Mr. T. L. Strange, a former Judge of the Sadar Adalut appears to have suggested the expulsion of the Moplahs from Malabar—an extreme and impracticable step which the Government of Madras considered 'grotesque' and which Collector Mr. Conally considered "un-British and cruel." (Correspondence in *Madres Mail* dated 14th November 1921.)

The ancestors of Kavalappara Nayar wisely excluded the Moplahs from their jurisdiction of seven villages in which no Moplah shall hold land. Similarly, the Nambudiris of 14 desoms known as Pathinalu[19] Desom in Walluvanad Taluk have made it a rule that no land should be given to Moplahs in those villages. This has been the practice for centuries with the result that there is security for the Hindus in the locality.

There is no use in harping upon the past, the future is our concern; and there is a feeling of despair which is deepened when we realise that even in other provinces where the Moplah does not exist, and the Hindu is numerically stronger than the Moslem and physically not inferior, instances of collision and outrages on Hindus are frequent. The spirit is latent in the Moslem but it is only in South Malabar that it bursts out periodically.

“The question arises why Ernad, Walluvanad and portions of Ponnani in this matter of religious frenzy and fanaticism, should remain not only untamed, but, as it would seem, positively untameable.”

The reasons are given in "The Moplahs—a Study," written by R. R. P. in his own felicitous style and “last but not the least, there is always the psychic factor, which bulks so large in the case of a community like the Moplahs. All over the fanatic zone, there are villages, hamlets, mosques, prayer shrines, temples, barns, hills, fields and gardens around which soul stirring legends and tales have clustered of martyrs, who had forsaken all their worldly substance and joys and followed the way which leads to the delights aid glories of paradise. These tales and legends are kept wonderfully alive. Men repeat them squatted by the way-side, chewing betel during the pauses of labour or travel. Women with stern faces and eyes that shine with the light of religious passion, narrate them by the domestic hearth to their

[19] Pathinalu=Fourteen.

children, who drink in every syllable of the thrilling stories of heroism and of deeds crowned with the halo of the Sayyid or martyr." (*West Cost Spectator* 29th June 1922).

With the certainty of salvation and with the delights of paradise (Appendix I) in sight, it is not surprising that fanaticism flourishes in these tracts—fanaticism, the evil consequences of which must continue to exist until the Hindus become assertive and can present a united front against Moplah aggression. There is something 'conflict. ing in the respective individualities of the Hindu and the Moslem' and the solution of the problem is a remote and even an uncertain, contingency.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have attempted to chronicle the events that transpired during the Moplah rebellion; I have taken care to avoid criticism and controversy. I have tried as far as possible, from information available in the papers, to trace the origin of the rebellion : I have described briefly the military operations undertaken to suppress the rebellion : I have dealt with the constitution of the courts appointed to punish the offenders and have also explained the steps taken to compensate the sufferers; I have narrated the details of a few instances of atrocities committed during the period and I must leave it to the reader to judge whether the account given, as it is, is a faithful representation of the dreadful period that South Malabar has passed through.

I have not proposed any scheme of reconstruction; the idea of reconstruction and of restoration of the country to its normal state is dependant on one factor—Hindu-Muslim Unity. Where wiser and more experienced men have failed to devise means to stop the Moplah outrages and to bring about a better understanding between the two communities, I do not pretend to be able to make any proposal; but educate the Moplah, give him sufficient work by opening up the country, keep him engaged and above want, rule him by the strong hand fairly but firmly and he will not have the time or inclination to brood over fancied insults to his religion or imaginary wrongs to himself.

The Servants of India Society have propounded a scheme for reconstruction in the following terms, "The future work in Malabar for public and philanthrophic bodies will have to be economical, educational and social. Some means have to be devised by which the poverty of the working and destitute classes in the affected area has to be alleviated. Since, large capital, and costly expert management are out of the question, the cooperative movement might be tried with advantage for encouraging thrift, starting small cottage industries suited to different lacalities, and in, general to promote and encourage production, on a small scale. The importance of education in addition to, and as distinguished from mere literacy, in expanding the minds of the people, so that they may respect each others religious feelings and rights and

take an intelligent and practical interest in the larger civic life of their places is very urgent. Efforts have to be made also to improve the health and the general standard of living among the masses of the population." (*West Coast Spectator*, 18th January '23.)

These objects are to be carried out by lectures, by libraries and reading rooms, by co-operative movement and by practical education.

The scheme is a laudable one, but it is rather a large order. Whether it will tend to reconcile the two communities and improve the situation time alone will show: If one, may look back to the period of Kalapam[20] (Mysore Conquest 1766-1792) that took place in Malabar more than a century ago, he could see the Zamorin Rajah setting fire to his own palace and immolating himself for fear of disgrace at the hands of Hyder Ali of Mysore (April 1766); he could witness the forcible conversion of a Rajah of Parappanad : and of "Tichera Terupar," of Nilambur and also of 200 Brahmins under the orders of Tippu of Mysore (August 1788); he could hear Tippu's repeated vows that he would honour the whole of Malabar with Islam (1790), and he could follow the Rajahs the Nambudiris and the Nairs during their flight to Travancore—the haven of refuge during that dreadful period.

Kalapam repeated itself in the year nineteen-hundred and twenty-one and it was a realistic representation of the original Kalapam with the place of refuge transferred to Calicut. Had Tippu not been forced to surrender Malabar to the East India Company by the treaty of Seringapatam on 18th March 1792, this district would have been to-day a Mohammedan country, and had Capt. McEnroy who commanded the small force that proceeded to relieve Malapuram on 26th August '21 not been successful at Pookotur the whole of the Ernad Taluk would have been Mohammedan as every Hindu would have been converted. In spite of past experiences, and of the uncertain future, and in view of the settlement of the Khilafat question by the Angora Government without assistance from India, I would hope that the Hindus and the Moslems will recognise the necessity of mutual toleration, if not amity, and work together for the restoration of happiness and prosperity to their beloved Motherland—the Land of Kerala.

FINISH.

[20] Kalapam=chaos, referring to tbe period of Mysore Conquest.

FORCED CONVERTS—IN MOSLEM DRESS.

APPENDIX I : PAST MOPLAH OUTRAGES

THE DELIGHTS OF PARADISE—A SONG

"The pleasures of wealth or of family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the houris who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the houris. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their chicks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold, their teeth like the seeds of the thali flowers. It is not possible for the mind to concive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes as sweet as honey, as fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to this earth, and smite, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voices. When they wear red silk bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skins, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands, the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 50 years' journey. They clap their hands, dance and sing, as they come like the swans to the battle-field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their dance, or their smile he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain, they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say :—Let my men mount : let them dance with the celestial houris. Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they will mount the beautiful horse which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy." West Coast Spectator July 6th '22.

This is the translation of part of a song composed in sacred memory of

the 47 Sayyidakkals (martyrs) who in the first decade of the last century fell fighting in defence of a Mosque against the retainers of Para Nambi, a landlord of Malappuram; the great Malappuram Nercha (festival) is celebrated annually in their memory and every Moplah out on the warpath carries with him whenever possible a copy of the song, a portion of which is quoted above. This is the first recorded out-break during British Supremacy.

The next recorded outbreak was in 1836, and then the series continued until 1919, two years before the Moplah rebellion, with occasional intervals. A list is appended.

2. *November 26, 1836. Pandalur, Ernad.* Kallingal Kunholan stabbed one Chakku Pannikar of the Kanisan caste who subsequently died of his wounds. He also wounded three others and was pursued by the Tahsildar and others. Shot on 28th Id.

3. *April, 15, 1837. Kalpatta, Ernad.* Ali Kutti of Chengara Amsom inflicted severe wounds on one Narayana Moosad and took post in his own shop, where he was attacked by the Tahsildar and Taluk peons and shot by the Taluk Police on the next day.

4. *April, 5, 1839. Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* Thorayam Pulakal Athan and another, of Pallipuram Amsom, Walluvanad Taluk killed one Kellil Raman and then set fire to and burnt a Hindu Temple, took post in another temple and there they were attacked by the Tahsildar and his peons and were shot by a Taluk peon.

5. *April 6, 1839.* Mambattodi Kuttiathan severally wounded one Paru Taragan and a Taluk peon. Captured and sentenced to transportation for life.

6. *April 19, 1840. Irimbulli, Ernad.* Parathodiyil Ali Kutti severely wounded one Odayath Kunhunni Nayar and another, and set fire to Kidangil temple. He was shot dead by a Taluk peon on the following day.

7. *April 5, 1841, Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* Tumba Mannil Kunyunnian and eight others killed one Perumballi Nambudiri and another at Pallipuram, burnt the house of the latter victim, as well as four other houses. The Moplahs were attacked on the 9th idem and killed by a party of the 36th Regiment Native Infantry and Police peons.

8. *Novenber 13th, 1841.* Kaidotti Padil Moidin Kutti and seven others killed one Tottasseri Tachu Pannikar and a peon, took post in a Mosque, set the Police at defiance for three days, and were joined by three more fanatics on the morning of the 17th idem. They were attacked by a party of 40 Sepoys of the 9th Regiment N. I. and were all killed in the fight.

9. *November 17, 1841. Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* On the 17th of the same month some Moplahs estimated at 2,000 set at defiance a Police party on guard over the spot where the above criminals have been buried and

forcibly carried off the bodies and interred them with honours at a Mosque. Twelve of these were convicted and punished.

10. *December 27, 1841, Ernad.* Melemanna Kunyattan, with 7 others killed one Talappil Chakku Nair and another and took post in the Adhigari's house. They rushed upon the Police and villagers who had surrounded the house, were killed, their bodies being brought to Calicut and buried under the gallows.

11. *October 19, 1843. Tirurangadi.* Kunnancheri Ali Attan and 5 others killed one Kaprat Krishga Pannikar, the Adhigari of Tirurangadi and proceeded at the suggestion of a seventh Moplah who joined afterwards to the house of a Nair in Cherur, and posted themselves in it. A Military detachment attacked the Moplahs on 24th morning but upon the latter rushing out, the Sepoys took to flight. The fanatics were killed by the Taluk Peons and the villagers and the sepoys court-martialled.

12. *December 4, 1843.* A Nair labourer was found dead with ten deep wounds on his body and his murder was believed to be the work of Moplah fanatics.

13. *December 11, 1843, Pandicad.* Anavattat Soliman and nine others killed one Karukammana Govind Moosad, the Adhigari of Pandicad, and a servant of his; defiled two temples and took post in a house. Troops were deputed but the Moplahs rushed at them and were killed.

14. *December 19, 1843.* A peon was found with his hand and his head all but cut off and the perpetrators were supposed to be Moplah fanatics.

15. *May 26, 1849. Ernad.* Chakalakkal Kammad wounded one Kannancheri Cheru and another and took post in a Mosque. The Tahsildar proceeded to the Mosque in the hope of inducing him to surrender but he rushed forward with a knife and was killed by a peon.

16. *August 25, 1849. Ernad and Walluvanad.* Torangal Unniyan killed one Paditodi Theyunni and with Attan Gurukkal and others killed three persons and took post in the temple at Manjeri; defiled the temple and partly burnt it. Ensign Wyse's party with the exception of four men who were all killed refused to advance and broke up and fled. Ensign Wyse was killed in this engagement. That night the fanatics proceeded to Angadipuram temple and were followed by a detachment H. M.'s 94th Regiment and another of the 39th Regiment, Native infantry. The insurgents came to the attack and were completely annihilated, leaving 64 dead.

17. *October 2, 1850. Pu'iyakode, Ernad.* The sons of Periambath Attan, the Moplah Adhigari, had concerted with others to kill one Mungamdambalatt Narayana Moosad and to devote themselves to death. Security was taken from nine individuals.

18. *January 5, 1851. Payyanad, Ernad.* Choondyamoochikal Attan at-

tacked and wounded severely a clerk, named Raman Menon and shut himself up in the Inspector's house setting the Police at defiance. The Tahsildar tried to induce him to surrender but he rushed out and fired at the opposing party and was shot dead.

19. *January 17, 1851.* Three Moplahs were reported as contemplating an assault. Security taken.

20. *April 15, 1851.* Illikot Kunyunni and five others were reported as designing to break out and kill Kotuparambat Komu Menon and another. No evidence and they were discharged; but the information was too true.

21. *August 22, 1851, Kulathur, Wallavanad.* The above said, Komu Menon and his servant were killed by 6 Moplahs who with three others also killed Kadakottil Nambudiri and Komu Menon's brother Raman Menon. Severely wounded Mundangara Rarichan Nair who subsequently died. They set fire to Rama Menon's and Chengara Variyar's house. They then proceeded to Kulathur and murdered the old Kulathur Variyar and two servants.

Troops were requisitioned and the fanatics rushed out. Seventeen fanatics were killed. Four European Privates and one Subhadar were killed in the encounter.

22. *October 5, 1851. Nenmini, Walluvanad.* Tottingal Mammad and three other Moplahs designed to commit an outrage. Security taken.

23. *October 27, 1851. Irimbuli, Ernad.* Security taken from two Moplahs who intended to join the late Kulathur outbreak.

24. *January 4, 1852. Mattanur, Kottayam.* Choriyot Mayan and fourteen others supported by a mob of two-hundred Moplahs butchered all the inmates; 18 in number, of Kalattil Kesavan Tangal's house and extirpated the family, defiled the temples, burnt houses and finally fell on January 8th 1852 in a desperate attack on the house of Kalliad Nambiar.

25. *January 5, 1852.* Security taken from five Moplahs.

26. *February 28, 1852. Ernad.* One Triyakaltil Chekku and 15 other Moplahs of Melmuri and Kilmuri Amsoms set out "to die and create a fanatical outbreak." Security was taken from them.

27. *April-May, 1852. Ernad.* Two Cherumas after embracing Muhamadanism returned to their original faith. These Cherumas were then working for Kudilil Kannu Kutti Nayar who being a peon was transferred from Ernad Taluk to Ponnani and subsequently to Calicut to avert the impending danger to his life. The Cherumas were also transferred to other Taluks as their presence was considered a source of disturbance.

28. *August 9, 1852. Kurumbranad.* Three Moplahs took up a position in the house of a village accountant (Puttur) and had resolved to die as Sahids (martyr). They wounded a Brahmin and were killed by the Police on the 12th August, two of wbom received wounds.

29. *September 16, 1853. Angadipuram, Walluvanad.* Kunnumal Moidin and Cherukavil Moidin murdered Chengalary Vasudevan Nambudiri and not getting any recruits, made their appearance on tbe top of a hill near Angadipuram. The Tahsildar proceeded there with his peons but the fanatics rushed on them. Eighteen shots were fired and the elder man was brought down wounded; the younger being unhurt fell on the peons, and villagers by whom he was dispatched.

30. *September 12, 1855. Calicut.* Three Moplahs Valasseri Emalu, Puliyakunat Tenu, Chemban Moidin Kutti and Vellattadayyatta Parambil Moidin escaped from their working party of Jail convicts at Calicut and proceeded to Walluvanad. They roamed about the country and on 10th September reached Calicut. On 12th they murdered Collector Mr. Conolly at his Bangalow.

The assassins were shot on 17th September by a detachment of Major Haley's Police Corps and a part No. 5 Company of H. M's. 74th High landers.

A fine of Rs. 38,331-8-0 was collected from the villages implicated in the outrage and Rs. 30,936-13-10 paid to Mrs. Conolly.

31. *November 1855.* Two Moplahs, who had deserted from the Malabar Police Corps, were suspected of complicity with the murderers of Mr. Conolly and were required to produce securities for good behaviour and were confined, on the failure to give securities, for 3 years. They were afterwards permitted to leave the country.

32. *August 1857, Ponmala, Ernad.* Poovadan Kunbappa Haji and 7 others were suspected of conspiring to revenge the supposed insult offered to their religion by the relapse of a Nair convert, and to make an attempt to rid lhe country of the Kaffirs (Europeans) representing that the Government was weakened by the mutiny in Northern India. The conspirators were surprised and taken prisoners and seven of them deported under the Moplah Outrages Act.

33. *Feb. 1858, Tirurangadi, Ernad.* A Moplah who purchased a piece of ground which was the scene of the death struggles of the Moplahs killed in the outbreak of 19th October '43, had built a small mosque there and had instituted a day for holding a festival. The number of visitors had increased and the feast assumed a threatening character. The Moplah purchaser and two Mullas were deported.

34. *1860, North Malabar.* Two Moplahs were deported for short terms for threatening the life of an Adhigari.

35. *4th February, 1864, Melmuri, Ernad.* During Ramzan feast a Moplah, named Attan Kutti in a fit of religious fanaticism stabbed and caused the death of one Notta Paanikkar whom he found in the house of a Tiyyan,

his intended victim. Attan was sentenced to be hanged as an ordinary malefactor, and his confederate deported, the village being fined to the extent of Rs. 2037.

36. *On 17th September 1865.* Three Moplahs were convicted of murdering one Shangu Nair of Nenmini Amsam, Walluvanad, and it was thought that the murder was committed from personal and private motives; but a religious cloak was thrown around the affair by the performance three days before the murder of a *Muvalad* ceremony at which several persons were present who knew of the intended murder. Six of them were deported.

37. *8th September, 1873, Paral, Walluvanad.* Kunhappa Musaliar visited the Velichapad or Oracle of Tuthekil temple, struck him several blows with a sword and left him for dead. They proceeded to Kolathur and attacked a member of Kolathur Varier's family and mortally wounded him. Troops from Malappuram surrounded the house and the fanatics attacked them. Of the nine fanatics 8 were killed and one "a mere child" was wounded and afterwards recovered. The villages concerned were fined Rs. 42,000.

38. *27th March, 1877. Irimbulli, Ernad.* Avinjipurath Kunhi Moideen and four other Moplas designed to commit a fanatical outrage as a Nair had debauched the wife of one of the men. Two of the conspirators elected to leave Malabar for Mecca to which place they were sent and Kunhi Moideen was bound over for good behaviour.

39. *June, 1879, Paral, Walluvanad.* Kunnanath Kunhi Moidu incited 6 young men to commit an outrage but before accomplishing their object they were arrested. The ring-leader was deported and the other 6 bound over.

40. *Sept. 9, 1880, Melattur, Walluvanad.* M. Ali deliberately cut the throat of a Cheruma lad who had become a convert to Islam and had reverted. He then wounded a potter on the next day; he went to the house of one of his intended victims, when a watchman shot Ali in the breast and killed him. The amsom was fined Rs. 4,200 and 7 Moplahs were deported; nine required to give security.

41. *Oct. 31, 1883, Pandicad, Ernad.* Asarithodi Moideen Kutti attacked Pulikkal Raman with a sword and pursued him. He however, threw down the sword at the intervention of his brother and another Moplah. He was tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity.

42. *March 4, 1884.* A petition was received stating that Vakayil Moideen kutti and another were conspiring to murder one Appathara Pattar. Enquiries were made, two ringleaders were deported and two had to furnish security to keep the peace.

43. *June, 18, 1884.* Kannancheri Raman who had previously embraced and subsequently renounced Islam was attacked in a most savage manner by two Moplahs. He however made his escape. Three Moplahs were transported

for life and three others deported. A fine of Rs. 15,000 was imposed on the amsom, out of which 1,000 was to be paid as compensation to Raman for his wounds.

41. *Dec, 28, 1884.* This proposal rankled in the minds of the Moplahs and one Kolakadan Kuttyassan and 11 others proceeded to the house of Raman's brother Choyikutti who was greeted by a volley of firearms carried by the Moplahs. Choyikutty and his son were wounded and the Moplahs set fire to his house. They left Malappuram and on the way mortally wounded a Brahmin and proceeded to Trikalur Temple. The troops and the police surrounded the temple and opened fire. They effected an entrance by blowing in the door, placing dynamite cartridges against it.

Of the twelve fanatics, three were still alive, but two of them were speechless and died immediately; the third man lived about twenty-four hours. The casualties among the Military were one private killed and one officer and one private wounded.

45. *1st May 1885.* A gang of Mappilas, consisting of T. V. Veran Kutti and eleven others broke open the house of a Cheraman (slave caste) called Kutti Kariyanand murdered him, his wife, and four of their children, and set fire to the house and a neighbouring temple. The victim had become a convert to Islam many years ago and had reverted to his original religion fourteen years ago. The Moplahs retreated during the night of 2nd May to their own country side, and in the early morning of the third they seized the house of a wealthy Nambudiri Brahmin, landlord of Ponmundam, Poonani.

On the afternoon of that day they were attacked by a party of the South Wales Borderers from Malappuram. They opened fire from a window in the top storey of that house at the military and wounded four of the men; upon this the fire was returned and as it afterwards turned out, the few shots poured in at the windows of the room to silence the fire killed all twelve persons.

46. 11th August, 1885. A Mappilla named Unni Mammad entered the house of Krishna Pisharodi under the pretence of buying paddy. At that time the Pisharodi was bathing. Mammad Unni rushed past the attendants and with one blow of a hatchet, inflicted a mortal wound on Pisharodi's head. He was immediately seized and disarmed, and was after trial in the usual course eventually, hanged.

47. In 1894, a gang of Moplahs in Pandicad started on the war-path. They wandered about defiling and burning temples where ever they could, besides attacking and killing such Nairs and Brahmins as fell in their way. The troops and the Police at last came up with them in a temple, when they sallied out with their usual fury and had all to be shot.

48. "The appalling tragedy of 1896 was unprecedented as well for the

number of fanatics that took part in it as for the swift and terrible retribution that overstook them. The saddest part of the whole affair was its want of reason. The few survivors could point to no single grievance that would bear examination. On 25-2-1896 a gang of twenty Moplahs went out on the war-path from Chembrasseri Amsom and for five days in ever increasing numbers terrorised the country-side; Hindus were murdered or their 'Kudumis' cut off, and they were summarily converted to Islam. Temples were desecrated and burnt. Houses were looted in the search for food, money and arms. Finally on March 1st hard pressed by the pursuit of the troops, the fanatics entered the Manjeri Karanammulpad's temple, determined to make their last stand in a spot hallowed in their eyes as the scene of the first triumphant act of the tragedy of 1849. Twenty soldiers were guarding the treasury on the hill opposite the temple, and with them shots were exchanged. At 9 A. M., the District Magistrate with the main body of the troops came up in great anxiety for the safety of the treasury-guard, and occupied a hill over-looking the temple from a distance of some 750 yards across a deep valley covered with trees and bushes. The troops opened fire at once, and the fanatics, instead of taking shelter, deliberately courted death offering themselves as a target to the bullets on the open platform of the temple 'howling, shouting, waving their arms and firing off their guns.' Advancing steadily with frequent volleys over the broken ground, the troops came near enough to the Moplah stronghold to call upon the fanatics to surrender. Hoarse cries of defiance were their only answer and pushing on, the soldiers entered the temple almost without opposition. A horrible sight met their eyes. Within the narrow precincts were filled up the bodies of ninety-two Moplahs. Some were still breathing, but the great majority were dead, and at least tweaty had their throats cut from ear to ear. They had been murdered by their comrades to prevent their being captured alive. A small gang of seven 'Sahids' were still at large, but by March 13th they had all been arrested or shot by the Police and the outbreak was at an end". (*Malabar Gazetteer*).

49. In April 1898, the Moplahs rose in revolt in Payyanad. But the rising proved abortive and the fanatics surrendered without struggle at the exhortation of Pookoya Tangal from Malappuram.

50. In 1915 an attempt was made on the life of Mr. Innes, the District Magistrate, who had a narrow escape from being shot. The Moplahs concerned in this outrage and some other fanatics indulged in the usual course of murder and arson until shot down by the Special Police Force.

51. In February 1919, a gang of fanatics headed by a dismissed Moplah Head-Constable, began to give trouble. Following their usual methods they broke into and defiled the temples, killed almost every Brahmin and Nair who fell in their way and finally died in resistance to the Police Force sent out

against them. In this one outbreak four Brahmins namely three Nambudiries and one Embrandiri, and two Nairs were put to death by the fanatics.

August 1921. The Moplah Rebellion.

APPENDIX II : MR. GANDHI'S VISIT TO CALICUT

Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived in Calicut on 18th August 1920 and at 6-30 P. M. addressed a gathering of about 20,000 people on the Vellayil beach, Calicut.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH

SPIRIT OF NON-CO-OPERATION

I do expect that we shall succeed if we understand the spirit of non-co-operation. The Lieutenant Governor of Burma himself has told us that Britain retains the hold on India not by force of arms but by the cooperation of the people of India. He has given us the remedy for any wrong Government may do to the people, knowingly or unknowingly, and so long as we co-operate with that Government we become the sharers of the wrong. But a wise subject never tolerates the hardship that a Government impose against their declared will. I venture to submit to this great meeting that the Government of India and the Imperial Government have done a double wrong to India and if we are a selfrespecting nation conscious of its rights, conscious of its responsibilities and conscious of its duties, it is not proper that we should stand the humiliations that both these Governments have imposed upon us. The Imperial Government have knowingly flouted religious sentiments dearly cherished by the 70 millions of Mussalmans.

THE KRILAFAT QUESTION

I claim to have studied the Khilafat question in a special manner. I claim to have understood the Musalman feelings and I am here to declare that in the

Khilafat question, the British Government have wounded the sentiments of Mussalmans, as they have not done before. The Gospel of non-co-operation is preached to them and if they had not accepted it, there would have been bloodshed in India by this time. I am free to confess the spilling of blood would not help their cause. But a man, who is in a state of rage, whose heart is lacerated does not count on the results of his actions. So much for Khilafat wrong. I propose to take you for a moment to the Punjab, the northern end of India and what have both Governments done for the Punjab? I am free to confess again that the crowds in Amristar went mad for a time. They were goaded to madness by a wicked administration but no madness on the part of the people can justify the spilling of innocent blood and what have they paid for it? I venture to submit that no civilised Government would have made the people to say the penalty that had been inflicted on the Punjab. Innocent men were passed through mock trials and imprisoned for life. Amnesty granted to them was of no consequence. Innocent and unarmed men who knew nothing of what was to happen were butchered in cold blood without the slightest notice. The modesty of women in Jallian Wala who had not done the slightest wrong to any man was seriously outraged. I want you to understand what I mean by outrage? Their veils were insolently removed by an officer with his stick. Men who had not done any wrong were made to crawl on the ground with their bellies and all these wrongs remain unavenged up to this time. If it was the duty of the Government of India to punish men for incendiarism and murder of innocent persons it was doubly their duty to punish their officers who were guilty of serious wrong. But in the face of these official wrongs committed with the greatest deliberation, we have the humiliating spectacle of the House of Lords supporting these wrongs. It is this double wrong, done to India, that we want to get redressed and it is our bounden duty to get it redressed. We have prayed, we have petitioned and we have passed resolutions.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, supported by his friends, is now waiting for justice in Europe. He has pleaded the cause of Islam, the cause of the Mussalmans of India, in a most manful manner. But his pleadings have fallen upon deaf ears. We have his word for it that whilst France and Italy have shown great sympathy for the cause of Islam it is the British Ministers who have not shown sympathy. It shows which way the British Ministers and present holders of Office in India wished to deal with the people. There is no good-will, there is no desire to placate public opinion. The people of India must have a remedy for redressing this double wrong. The method of the West is violence. Whenever people of the West have felt wrong justly or unjustly, they rebel and spill blood. As I have said in my letter to the Viceroy, half of India does not believe in the remedy of violence. The other half is too weak to offer it.

But the whole of India is deeply grieved and it is for that reason that I venture to suggest to the people the remedy of non-co-operation. I consider it to be perfectly harmless, absolutely constitutional and yet perfectly efficacious. It is a remedy, if properly adopted will end in victory. Victory is a certainty in it. And it is the age-old remedy of self-sacrifice. Are the Mussalmans of India who feel the great wrong done to them prepared for self-sacrifice? If we desire to compel the Government to the will of the people, as we must, the only remedy open to us is non-co-operation. If the Mussalmans of India offer non-co-operation to Government in order to secure justice on the Khilafat, it is the duty of every Hindu to co-operate with their Moslem brethren. I consider the eternal friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans as infinitely more important than the British connection. I therefore venture to suggest that if they like to live with unity with Mussalmans, it is now that they have got the best opportunity and that such an opportunity would not come for a century. I venture to suggest that if the Government of India and the Imperial Government come to know that there is a great determination behind this great nation in order to secure redress for the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, the Government would then do justice to us. The Mussalmans of India will have to commence the first stage of non-co-operation in real earnest. If you may not help Government, you may not receive favours from the Government. I consider that the titles of Honour are titles of disgrace. We must therefore surrender all titles and resign all honorary offices. It will constitute an emphatic disapproval of the leaders of the people against the actions of the Government. Lawyers must suspend practice, boys should not receive instructions from schools aided by Government or controlled by Government. The emptying of schools would constitute the disapproval of the middle classes of the people of India. Similarly have I ventured to suggest a complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. That will be an emphatic declaration on the part of the representatives of people and the electorate that they do not like to elect their representatives. We must equally decline to offer ourselves as recruits for the Police and the Military. It is impossible for us to go to Mesopotamia and offer Police or Military assistance. The last item in the first stage of non-co-operation is Swadeshism. Swadeshi is intended, not so much as to bring pressure on Government but to show the extent of self-sacrifice on the part of every man, woman, and child. When one-fourth of India has its self-respect at stake, when the whole of India has its justice at stake, we must forego silk from Japan, Calico from Manchester and French lace from France. We must resolve to be satisfied with cloth woven by the humble weavers of India in their cottage homes. A hundred years ago when our tastes were not in foreign products we were satisfied with cloth produced by men and women of India. If I could revolutionise the

taste of India and make it return to its ancient state, the whole world would recognise the cult of renunciation; that is the first stage in non-co-operation. I hope it is as easy for you as it is easy for me to see that India is capable of undertaking the first stage of non-co-operation.

I therefore do not intend to take you through the other three stages of non-co-operation. I would like you to rivet your attention properly into the first stage. You will have noticed that two things are necessary in order to go to the first stage—an absolutely perfect spirit of non-violence is indispensable for successes and only a little measure of self-sacrifice. I pray to God that He will give the people of India sufficient courage and wisdom to recognise the virtue of non-co-operation.

And I hope that in a few days we shall see some result from your activities in Calicut in connection with non-co-operation.

Mr. Shaukat Ali's address was confined to a special appeal to the Mussalmans with regard to the Khilafat question.

Mr. K. P. Raman Menon on behalf of the people of Calicut presented a purse of Rs. 2,500 to Mahatma Gandhi towards the Khilafat funds which gift was accepted with thanks. (*W.C. Reformer* dated 20th August '20).

APPENDIX III : PROCEEDINGS OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, CALICUT

DATED 8TH FEBRUARY, 1921

E. F. THOMAS, ESQ., I. C. S., District Magistrate of Malabar, Calicut

Order under Section 144 C. P. C.

"The District Magistrate has received information that it is under contemplation to hold a series of Khilafat meetings in Ernad Taluk and that by the holding of these meetings there is immediate danger that the feelings of the more ignorant Moplahs will be inflamed against not only Government but also against the Hindu Jenmis of the Taluk, though the ostensible object of the meetings may be to preach non-violent agitation. It has been reported that there is a probability that the result of such meetings will be something more than a tendency to a disturbance of the public tranquility and that there may result riot and danger to human life; the District Magistrate is satisfied from his knowledge of the Ernad Taluk and of the tendencies of the Moplahs of that part of the District that the report is not unfounded and is confirmed in his opinion by the fact that one of the movers in this enterprise comes of a family with out-break traditions and has been suspected in previous outbreaks. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is referred to. The other persons likely and reported to be concerned in organising such meetings are two ex-Vakils who must by their own act seek a livelihood by agitation regardless of what may be results. It is reported that a meeting is to be convened at Nellikuth on the 7th instant, and as this is a case of emergency it is hereby ordered that. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, 2. Madhavan Nair, 3. U. Gopala Menon and the local leaders of the Khilafat movement whoever they may be are prohibited from convening or speaking at any public meeting in the Taluk of Ernad (*West Coast Spectator* 8th Feb. '21).

APPENDIX IV : MR. YAKUB HASAN'S ARRIVAL

"West Coast Spectator" Dated 15th Feb. 1921. Mr. Yakub Hasan arrived here by today's mail. Elaborate arrangements had been made for according him a fitting reception and accordingly there were present at the station a large number of Muhammedans and Hindus, who included all the leaders. A band of Khilafat Volunteers paraded on the platform to preserve peace and order.

ORDER SERVED

Immediately after his arrival, Sub-Inspector Sanjeeva Menon of the Calicut town presented a copy of the following order of the District Magistrate to Mr. Yakub Hasan who refused to accept it and asked the Sub-Inspector to present it at his residence. Accordingly the order was served at his residence a little later. Mr. Yakub Hasan is accompanied by his wife. They are the guests of Mr. Zuahooralla Sahib during their stay in Calicut.

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that as a rssult of several political meetings, (professedly on Khilafat and Non-co-operation) held in the Malabar District notably in Calicut, Manjeri, Tirurangadi, Kundotti, Angadipuram, Ponnani and Tellicherry and of the Speeches made at such meetings, persons lawfully employed have been intimidated and annoyed in many ways and obstructed in their peaceful pursuits and have been threatened with annoyance and obstruction and the feelings of the more ignorant inhabitants, Moplahs of the District, have been more likely to be inflamed against the Government and whereas in my opinion, the continuance of the holding of such meetings will have the immediate effect of disturbing the public tranquility and may very likely lead to riots and affrays, and whereas in my opinion, a speedy prevention of such meetings is in the circumstances desirable and whereas I am informed that a political meeting is to be held at Calicut on or about the 15th or 16th February, I do hereby prohibit the

holding of the said meetings and strictly warn and enjoin on you not to take part in it."

Tanur, February 15. The very grand arrangements made here for the reception of Mr. Yakub Hasan was marred by the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting the holding of meetings here, which was tom tomed throughout Tanur this morning. A huge pandal had been put up to hold the proposed Khilafat meeting while arrangements have been made to feed a large number of people.

On the arrival of the train at this station, Mr. Yakub Hasan alighted from his compartment and shook hands with the leaders of the Mussalman community who had assembled on the platform. Before the train left the station, Mr. Yakub Hasan was garlanded.

ARREST OF YAKUB HASAN AND OTHERS

A conference of leaders was held at the residence of Mr. Yakub Hasan, and it appeared to have been decided to hold a Khilafat meeting on beach last evening in contravention of the District Magistrate's order, prohibiting such meetings.

ARREST

Yesterday afternoon, the District Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Police arrested Messrs. Yakub Hasan, K. Madhavan Nair, U. Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya and the following is the copy of the order served on them at the time of their arrest :—

"Orders under sections 107 and 114 C. P. C. Whereas orders were served on, 1. Yakub Hasan, 2. K. Madhavan Nair, 3. U. Gopala Menon, 4. P. Moideen Koya lawfully promulgated under Section 144 C. P. C. prohibiting them from holding a political meeting at Calicut on or about the 16th instant and whereas it has come to my knowledge that the first mentioned in consultation with the counter-petitioners 2 and 4 and others has decided to disobey the prohibitory order thus lawfully promulgated will inevitably lead to a breach of the peace and disturb the public tranquility. I now as provided by section 107 C. P. C. call upon the counter petitioners named above to show cause forthwith why they should not be bound over to keep the peace in their own bond and one surety each of Rs. 1000. Whereas the holding of such a meeting by counter petitioners will be contrary to law and to the prohibitory order served on the counter-petitioners and will inevitably

result in breach of peace and whereas such breach of the peace cannot for the reasons given above be prevented except the immediate arrest of the counter-petitioners as provided by section 114 C. P. C., I do hereby order their arrest under the warrant issued by this Court."

They were arrested and produced before the District Magistrate. Four witnesses were examined for the prosecution and having declined to execute a bond or furnish sureties, the District Magistrate sentenced them to six months' imprisonment. They were then taken to Calicut Sub-Jail in two motor cars, escorted by the District Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent of Police.

With a view to prevent a breach of the peace, and to avert a contingency of any disturbance, soldiers in two motor lorries patrolled the town, while Reserve Police maintained peace and order. The town hall and the beach where meetings had been arranged to be held were also guarded by the Police. A large number of people had assembled in front of the Huzur when the four individuals were under trial. Last night, processions of Mohammedans passed through the streets repeating certain words from the Koran On the whole, the crowd was orderly and well behaved.

A DAY OF HARTAL

To-day has been observed as a day of hartal. There were huge processions during the whole day. Almost all the shops remain closed. Butchers were away from their stalls and mutton and beef could not be obtained. A procession of students, Mohammedans in particular, passed through some of the streets. The Government School of Commerce and the Native High School remained closed in the absence of students. The Zamorin's College was also practically closed although a few of the classes worked with a very limited number of students. Most of the lawyers have abstained from attending Court. Great sensation prevails.

PRACTICE SUSPENDED

It is understood that Messrs. A. Karunakara Menon, K. V. Gopala Menon and P. Achutan of the Calicut Bar and P. Ramunni Menon of the Ottapalam bar have suspended practice. (*West Coast Spectator* dated 17th February 1921).

APPENDIX V : COUNCIL DEBATE

18TH FEBRUARY 1921

DIWAN BAHADUR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

"I submit, Sir, that I deem it extremely unfortunate and extremely deplorable that at this time when the Reforms are coining into operation, when the Government of India are considering the desirability of repealing all or some of the repressive laws, the District Magistrate of Malabar should have thought it fit to exercise these provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and, as I shall be able to show presently, bring trouble not only to himself but to the others also inclusive of the Government. I can very well understand, Sir, the District Magistrate's anxieties for preserving peace; I can also understand that with good reasons he might have prohibited the holding of any particular meeting in the Taluk which I mentioned, namely Ernad. But I cannot understand, Sir, why the District Magistrate should have issued such an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting meetings and prohibiting these gentlemen, to address meetings in the town of Calicut. I have not heard of any disturbance in Calicut like those disturbances that sometimes occur in the Ernad Taluk and in some parts of Walluvanad Taluk. If instead of having issued these order he had allowed the meeting to proceed as was done at the time when Mr. Gandhi visited Calicut some months ago. I myself was not present in Calicut then; I was told that about thirty-thousand persons were present to hear him preaching non-co-operation, absolutely no harm would have taken place. As a matter of fact people listen to these speeches and go away and they forget them the next day. They look upon these things more or less as a fun. At any rate in this part of India, in the Southern Presidency, in Malabar particularly, of which I know more than other districts, no harm has taken place in consequence of the preaching of non-co-operation or the Khilafat. So that, the effect of what the District Magistrate has done is this. In consequence of this order there has been a large crowd in Calicut. The vakils have struck work; I do not know

whether the strike still continues; I have no information. I fact, I may say at once, Sir, that I have not received any communication from the persons concerned. My information is from other sources. The vakils, have struck work, the jutkawallas have ceased plying their jutkas and there is very great sensation. It is reported that schools and colleges have become empty and the order has created a great sensation and, as I said, quite unnecessarily. It may be said—I can very well understand it—how can the District Magistrate be blamed when these gentlemen on whom these orders were served by him, do not obey the order? Is there any cause left to him but to imprison these persons? Legally, I grant that that position under the Criminal Procedure Code is correct. But the District Magistrate who is the representative of the Government in the district should take a more comprehensive and broader view than this, and, instead of creating, as I submit, trouble for others and for himself he should prevent the occurrence of trouble; and I sincerely and honestly believe that his action in having issued this order will bring plenty of trouble. It will excite the people and it will create the very trouble which it is intended to avoid. The trouble may even spread to the dangerous zone, the Ernad Taluk. I do not know Mr. Yakub Hasan personally. I am told that he is held in high esteem in some quarters and in very great respect in others. This action of the District Magistrate is likely to excite and rouse the Mappillas."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson :—" The Government of Madras share the Hon'ble Member's regret that it should have been necessary at this time to take prohibitory action under the Criminal Proceedure Code, but they cannot agree with him that the action was unnecessary. Perhaps the best method of illustrating the position will be for me to place before the house the substance of the communications which we have received during the past few days from the District Magistrate of Malabar. These I now propose to read, if you will permit me, Sir, for the current of the narrative will gain force if they are read out instead of being paraphrased.

"We had been aware for sometime past from the confidential reports of the District Magistrate of Malabar that the position was getting more and more serious in respect of the Khilafat movement and the active manifestations of it. There is at least one question on that topic before this Council, which will, I hope, be answered tomorrow. Matters came definitely to a head on or about the 12th February when the District Magistrate found it necessary to issue orders prohibiting political meetings in Ernad and parts of Walluvanad, that is to say, the Mappilla area. The District Magistrate's telegram informing us of this ran as follows :—

"Intimidation prevails throughout the district. Further action imperative. Yakub Hasan and Rajagopalachari expected today, to tour district.

Consider essential (to) prohibit meetings throughout the district and stop Yakub Hassan forthwith."

"Our reply to that telegram was :—

"Regret general prohibition you propose is impossible, but Government have no desire to limit your discretion under Section 144 in preventing specified meetings or restraining Yakub Hassan or others from speaking on particular occasions."

The reason why that reply was sent to the District Magistrate was that we feel, as we feel now, that the Senior Magistrate must be trusted to exercise discretionary power in regard to matters of a changing nature of which, we, four hundred miles away, can have no precise idea.

APPENDIX VI : IN THE COURT OF THE DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATE, CALICUT

ORDER UNDER SECTION 144 C. P. C.

8TH MAY 1921

"Whereas It has been made to appear to me that Thayyil Assan Mulla and others of the Khilafat Committee intend to hold a public meeting for the purpose of preaching Khilafat and Non-co-operation and whereas in my jurisdiction the dissemination of Khilafat and Non-co-operation propaganda has resulted in the past and is likely to result hereafter, in riots directed by Mussalmans against Hindus as is witnessed by the fact that a case arising out of this self-same agitation is now under trial before me in which certain Moplahs are charged with having formed with thousand other Moplahs an unlawful assembly and caused damage to the Matom (a place of worship) and Kolapura in Kizhakoth Amsom and polluted the tank attached and thereby offended the religious sentiments of the Hindus of that locality and whereas there is reason to apprehend that if a meeting avowedly for the dissemination of Khilafat and non-co-operation doctrines is allowed to be held in Calicut, the fair trial of this case may be prejudiced owing to the religious feelings likely to be aroused, now, I considering that immediate action is necessary in order to prevent annoyance and injury to persons lawfully employed, danger to the public safety and disturbance to the public tranquility, do hereby direct that no meetings shall be held ostensibly for the purpose of preaching or publishing Khilafat and non-co-operation doctrines in the Municipality of Calicut and the area within 5 miles of the Municipality limits and strictly warn and enjoin you not to take part in any such meetings and I direct that this order shall remain in force for a period of one month from to-day."

There was a crowd on the beach and as soon as they knew that orders

have been served and that meetings could not be held as the result of the prohibiting order, they began to melt away with the result that by 6 P. M. there were only 400 Moplahs squatting on the beach.

APPENDIX VII : THE POOKOTUR INCIDENT

(1. *West Coast Spectator* dated August 9th, 1921).

EXTRACT :—"Rumour has it also that the convulsion was due to the universal feeling of indignation felt by tenants against oppressive and tyrannical jenmis."

(2. *Madras Mail*, dated August 15th 1921.)

EXTRACT :—"Within the past few days stories have been in circulation, started, of course, by apologists of the N. C. O. and Khilafat movements, that the recent manifestations of lawlessness were almost wholly the outcome of landlordial oppression and tyranny, and, as may be guessed, these stories are aimed chiefly against the Nilambur Tirumulpad's family. As a matter of fact, the tenantry of the Nilambur Rajah's family have always been treated with the greatest consideration and it is common knowledge that *melcharth*s are unknown among the tenants of this landed house."

(3. *Madras Mail*, dated September 7th 1921.)

EXTRACT :—(From the Special Correspondent.) "I was accorded an interview this morning by Elaya Tirumulpad of Nilambur, senior member of the Nilambur Rajah's family. It needed a good deal of persuasion to induce the Elaya Tirumulpad to tell his story.

Some 16 or 20 days before the rebellion the Tirumulpad stated that between 200 and 300 Moplahs assembled together at Pookotur Kovilagam, of which the sixth Tirumulpad was the manager and *demanded their wages at 9 o'clock at night.* The 6th Tirumulpad appears by his unsympathetic management of Pookotur properties to have made himself exceedingly unpopular with the Moplahs, who are still on his track, determined to put an end to his life. The Moplahs became very turbulent. They threatened the manager and said that, even if he escaped to Nilambur they would follow on his track. The 6th Tirumulpad managed to escape to Nilambur via Manjeri at dead of night.

The Pookotur Moplahs openly stated that they were after the blood of

three persons, namely, the 3rd Tirumulpad, who is the general manager of the palace properties, the 6th Tirumulpad, the Pookotur Manager, and the Kariyasthan of Nilambur Mr. C. S. Lakshminarayanaier, against the last named of whom there seems to have been generally hostile feeling throughout Nilambur.

APPENDIX VIII

a. THE MALABAR POLICE

THE POLICE RAJ

West Coast Spectator dated the 16th May 1922. Letter by Mr. Manjeri Ramaier B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil Calicut, under the heading "Malabar Affairs. Our Gratitude." "During the days of the rebellion, the Khilafat Raj put the Police Raj ignominously to the flight. The proud Policeman was stripped of his weapons and of his prestige and forced to realise the hard and painful fact that mere adeptship in charge-sheeting was of no avail against the faith-frenzied charge of the muscular Moplah. Now that the Military have humbled him to the dust and the Moplah is too weak to rise, the Policeman again has scrambled back into his congenial task of indiscriminate charge-sheeting. Instead of the rattle of the artillery and Ordnance, we have the prattle of the courts of the Ordinance. Instead of shooting each other down they are now swearing against each other. The abnormal circumstances are such that perjury is at a premium. Some of them now try to make up for the fleetness of their calf muscles in running away from their posts of duty by the "Hextra" telescopic power of their million magnified vision, in claiming to have witnessed crimes committed while, if the truth must be told, they were running hours and miles ahead, with their backs to the scene, at a speed which would put to shame champions of an Olympian race.

Police officials are, after all, men, and we have no right to expect the impossible of them. Thousands of crimes have been committed, many who have witnessed the crimes have had their own sympathy with the rebels and they will not give evidence for the prosecution, and many crimes have been committed in darkness and in daylight with none witnessing save the rebels themselves. Even in the special courts there must be eye-witnesses who saw and identified the accused. A fairly large percentage of these are to be 'detected', and conviction must follow or else why the Police Department at all, and why promotions and other etceteras? A little imagination will supply you with the rest of the process of detection and proof, and men are

afraid, even in cases were a particular accused is innocent, to gave evidence for defence for fear of the dock inviting him soon after. The whole situation is a complex muddle in which all the power of prosecution and of pardon is concentrated into hands which are not always clean. There is also one other element to be taken into consideration. There are thousands of men who have grown fat on unholy loot. These do not feel safe until they have succeeded by continous tempting in thrusting a good portion of the loot into the hands of some fallen angel who can stand between them and the courts, and, if necessary, provide innocent substitutes in their stead. The situation is fraught with the greatest anxiety. The evils of an unchecked Police regime are too well known to need any description. In critical times like these, the evils develop a thousand fold until the whole machinery of Police administration becomes a by-word in the mouths of the people unless perchance a strong man, with a considerable touch of Haroun Al Raschid is at the helm, who knows the Police official inside and outside and all his arts."

b

Order in S. J. C. No. 129 of 1922 on the file of the Court of the Special Judge, Malabar Ordinance, 1922. Dated 21st August 1922.

Prisoners :—Chakkingalthodi Moideenkutti and 11 others.

Offence :—Waging War against the King and murder.

Finding :—Not guilty.

Order :—Discharged.

Para 9. Before setting out the evidence on the third and most important count. viz., the murders of the four Hindus, I may state that after all the prosecution evidence was taken, it was discovered that in another case viz., against Kakkat Veeran of Mannarghat and 20 others relating to the murder of four Hindus, two of whom are identical with two of the victims in this case, the Crown had put forward a different version of the midnight orgy of slaughter in which the accused charged in this case are alleged to have taken part. I sent for and exhibited the charge sheet No. 358 in S. J. C. 163/22 which is on Mr. Jackson's file. Vide Ct. Exhibit I. It casts a lurid light on the character of the police investigation into this transaction.

Para 12. It is difficult to imagine two stories which differ more widely. The only point on which there is any agreement is that Nechuli Krishnan Nair was murdered on the night of the 19th October.

Para 14. I consider. it not a little remarkable that the Crown should have put forward two wholly different accounts of the murders of Nechuli Krishnan Nair and Neeringal Ravunni Nair such as that presented in this

case and the one proposed to be proved in S. J. C. No. 163/22 supported by the evidence of two different sets of witnesses with the exception of one witness who has deposed to one version and is supposed to prove the other version as well.

Para 15. The existence of the charge sheet in S. J. C. 163/22 having been brought to the notice of the Public Prosecutor, he reports that he did not press this portion of the case. In view of the course adopted by the Crown, I consider that it will be a waste of judicial time for me to investigate how the charges came to be laid in these cases. I would however draw the attention of the District Magistrate to the haphazard way in which capital charges have been preferred and the very serious neglect in the supervision over investigations which this case discloses.

APPENDIX VIII B2

IN THE COURT OF THE ADDITIONAL SESSIONS JUDGE

SOUTH MALABAR
SESSIONS CASE 2 OF 1923

The 5 Accused.—Marat Kalathil Ayamed Kutti and four other Moplahs—were charged with the murder of one Govindan Nair on 30th October '21 near a channel known as Kakathodu in Porur Amsom in Walluvanad Taluk. In opening the case for prosecution the Crown Prosecutor made the following remarks.

"The history of the case is quite sad. It is a case, which, if you believe the Crown evidence, was strangled at its birth by the guardians of the peace. There is no calumny against the Police Force as a class. The Crown impugns the conduct of two of the members of the honourable Force. There is much to be said about their connection with this case which would be more intelligible to you after I lead the evidence for the Crown."

The trial ended in the acquittal of the five prisoners and in his judgement the Judge deals with the conduct of Police Sub-Inspector Govinda Menon (Def. Wit. 1) in the following terms.

Para 26. "As I am dealing with the share of the Police in this case I may say at once that D. W. 1 Sub Inspector Govinda Menon has betrayed in the box his interest in the accused and his animus against the complainant. There is a clear instance of each. Now though complainant repudiates Exhibit I as a forced statement, D. W. 1 says it was a voluntary one. Complainant adheres to the story that he gave a complaint before the Vandur Police and

even gave details of the dress of the officer to whom he gave it. So anxious however is D. W. 1 in this court to make out the complaint to be false that he actually forgets what he recorded whether voluntarily or under force, from the complainant in Exhibit I. It is beyond doubt that he entirely failed to make any enquiries into the case after getting the reminder note from his Inspector. What is even more suspicious is that he apparently studiously avoided asking who deceased's relations were or examining them, though they were clearly the people who having last seen the deceased alive could give him the best information. He coolly says that he did not think it an important point in this case as who last had seen the deceased alive. He also had to admit after first denying it that he wrote a letter to a certain Nambudiri after he had been examined by Mr. Thorne and received a reply. His answers on this point will show his regard for truth. "I did not write to him. I don't remember to have written any letter to that Nambudiri in connection with this case. I may have written him a letter. I wrote to him as I wanted to see P. W. 4." In re-examination he professed to have sent this letter under the orders of his superiors. If so, why all this denial and shuffling? I have no doubt this letter was written with the object of getting the evidence of P. W. 4 broken up. He gave his evidence in the most unsatisfactory and evasive manner and I had frequently to warn him."

APPENDIX VIII B3 : IN THE COURT OF THE SPECIAL JUDGE, MALABAR

(RESTORATION OF ORDER) ORDINANCE, 1922

MAY 24TH 1922. CASE 74 of 1922

The Accused.—Mohamed Haji was charged with having waged war against the King. He was found not guilty and acquitted.

Para 16. The defence produced a circular (Exhibit I) which this witness (P. W. 2) did copy. This was a circular which was prepared at the warehouse and is in the hand-writing of Manjeri Ramaier. Accused therein exhorts the Khilafat Committees in the name of Congress and Khilafat to teach the people not to break the law. "Particularly if anybody does any harm to Government officials, the latter should be given all the possible help and protected. Especially Hindus should be carefully protected." The fact that this circular was prepared must have been in the knowledge.of the Police, but this has been suppressed by the prosecution and a story substituted in its place which crumbled at the first touch of cross-examination.

Para 18. The defence has examined D. W. 5 to prove that the accused

told P. W. 3 that he was going to Ponnani to prevent the rebels who had gone to Ponnani from doing mischief but P. W. 3 denies this. It is clear however from the evidence of D. W.'s 1 and 2 that as soon as be returned from Ponnani on Monday and when he was blamed for leaving them alone at the warehouse the previous night, the accused stated at once that he had been to Ponnani to prevent mischief. Mr. Coultas says that the Inspector himself interpreted this to him. The Inspector's denial of this circumstance and of other circumstances tending to show the action of the accused in a favourable light, the friendly relations that existed between the Police and the accused so long as they were in the warehouse, and the grateful feeling everybody had for him at the time is one of the unsatisfactory features of the prosecution in this case. However this be there is no doubt that a grossly perverted version of the Ponnani adventure has been presented by the prosecution witnesses.

APPENDIX VIIIc : DEBATE IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

March 3. 1923 *Madras Mail* 6th March 1923

Mr. Ramalinga Reddy, wished to know whether it was not a fact that in several places the Police without apprehending the rebels ran away and in some cases they even surrendered their arms.

MALABAR POLICE DEFENDED

Mr. E. F. Thomas (nominated) at this stage rose to a defence of the police force in Malabar. He understood Mr. Ramalinga Reddy to say that the police force under him in the action at Tirurangadi had behaved in a cowardly fashion. That statement was not true. The police force at Tirurangadi had behaved with great courage.

Mr. Ramalinga Reddy offered a word of personal explanation, He was understood to have said that the police under Mr. Thomas behaved badly. This was not so. The police at Tirurangadi behaved well and he had nothing but praise for them, but his observations as to the police throwing down their arms was confined to the police in the other actions in Malabar.

Mr. Thomas accepted the explanation with pleasure. At the same time he wished to express as strongly as he could his disagreement with Mr. Ramalinga Reddy's condemnation of the police in other places than at Tirurangadi. Until the speaker went on leave the police everywhere in Malabar did not only what was expected of them but much more. Throughout the rebellion the police undertook the most dangerous of duties. This was evident from

the fact that 25 policemen were killed and a like number wounded during the rebellion. He should have preferred this defence of the police to have come from some non-official member from Malabar, but as one who served in Malabar for many years and had great affection for the district he felt it necessary to state that the police throughout the rebellion with a few solitary exceptions, did as much and more than was required of them.

APPENDIX VIIId : TOWN HALL MEETING

Calicut, 10-3-'23.—An emergent public meeting of the citizens of Calicut was held yesterday evening in the local Victoria Town Hall to protest against the doubling of the salt-tax and to show their gratitude to Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. L. C., for his budget speech on Malabar matters in the Madras Legislative Council. There was a large attendance and the audience was comprised of all political parties.

On the motion of Mr. A. K. Kelu seconded by Mr. Raru, Mr. K. P. Raman Menon, High Court Vakil was voted to the chair.

The second resolution ran thus :—

a. That this meeting of the citizens of Calicut do express their complete confidence in Mr. C. R. Reddy and do thank him cordially for his recent outspoken speech on Malabar affairs during the preliminary discussion on the Budget.

b. That this meeting do fully endorse his statements about the need for an enquiry into the conduct of the Police during the beginning of the rebellion in the interests of law and order in the District and absolutely dissociate from Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp's remarks about the behaviour of the Police at the beginning of the rebellion even after making full allowance for the difficulties of their position.

c. That this meeting do request and authorise Mr. Reddy to press for such a committee on behalf of Malabar during the budget discussion and after in the local Legislative Council in which case the public of Malabar are prepared to lead evidence.

Mr. Manjeri Ramaier in seconding the resolution said :—

"From his experience in Tirur he could not find any policeman, excepting one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector and three Europeans. The 39 police Constables of that station were not at all seen in the neighbourhood but were coming out of their hiding places as the military came. The Policeman who was shivering all the while eating canjee said when the trial came that he

saved the life of the Europeans. Mr. Ramaier challenged any one to say that his statement and that of Mr. Coultas were false. He then gave instance where a man was charged by the Police for murder while the accused was actually in Kolar at the time of the alleged offence: He mentioned about five cases in which the Police charged those with crimes who were in the Coimbatore Jail long before they were said to have committed the crimes. What Mr. Reddy stated could be clearly proved from extracts from judgements in the Martial Law Courts alone. From 21st August until the Military arrived on the scene it might be said the presence or absence of the Police did not make any change in the situation. The Police protected themselves. If running away from their posts was their duty, they did it well."

When the resolution was put to vote it was adopted amidst loud acclamation. (*West Coast Spectator*, 13-3-'23.)

APPENDIX IX : ATROCITIES

These are classified below :— (a) Brutally dishonouring women, (b) Flaying people alive,

(c) Wholesale slaughter of men, women and children, (d) Forcibly converting people in thousands, and murdering those who refused to be converted, (e) Throwing half-dead people into wells, and leaving the victims for hours, to struggle till finally released from their sufferings by death, (f) Burning a great many and looting practically all Hindu and Christian houses, in the disturbed area, in which even Mopla women and children took part, and robbing women, of even the garments on their bodies, in short reducing the whole non-moslem population to abject destitution, (g) Cruelly insulting the religious sentiments of the Hindus, by desecrating and destroying numerous temples, in the disturbed area, killing cows within the temple precincts, putting their entrails on the holy images and hanging the skulls on the walls and roofs.

1. *The Nannambra Atrocities.* On the night of 14th November 1921, a large body of armed Moplah entered the house of Puzhikal Narayanan Nair, a wealthy landlord of Nannambra Amsom. They looted the house, carried off one of the girls and a boy captive, seized nine of the occupants and brought them to a neighbouring rock where they murdered seven of them. Five died at once, and two lingered for a few hours. The other two grievously wounded were left lying on the spot. A boy in the house—Madhavan Nair—was killed and thrown into a well. Narayanan Nair made his escape.

The Special Judge who tried the case against the Moplahs remarked, "to my mind this murderous attack indicate something more than mere fanaticism or lust for looting. There is no evidence that the murders were committed because the murdered persons refused to embrace Islam, or resisted the rebels, or refused to show property. The rebels seem to have meant to kill every male in the place whom they could catch hold of, and the only survivors were those who either got away or were left as dead. The abduc-

tion of a young girl and a boy shows the deliberate ferocity of the attack." (Judgement in cases Nos. 116 and 116 A of 1922.)

Narayanan Nair trusted his Moplah watchmen, whom he engaged to watch his house and they turned traitors. The Moplahs wanted to exterminate the family and very nearly succeeded in doing so. The girl was rescued from the hands of the rebels after a detention of six weeks and after suffering indescribable indignities. Horror of horrors!!!

Five of the prisoners were sentenced to capital punishment and five to transportation for life, and who knows how many remain free, who had joined the gang?

2. *Murder of Retired Police Inspector Khan Bahadur Chekkutti and of Head Constable Hydross on 30th August 1921.* Remarks of the Special Judge, Malabar. Case No. 73/'22.

"These were the two of the most brutal murders in the rebellion which cost the lives of two loyal Government officers who were killed for doing their duty and for their services to the Crown. It is difficult to say which of the two was the more dreadful and the callous crime. In Chekutti's case the murderers had the decency to send away the women-folk before they finished the deceased off, but they were guilty of appalling barbarity in subsequently parading the head on a spear. In the case of Hydross the murder was carried out in the presence of his wife and children and in spite of the entreaties of the latter and the efforts of his wife to protect her husband."

The evidence of the wife shows how a brave man met his end and the singularly brutal circumstances of the murder.

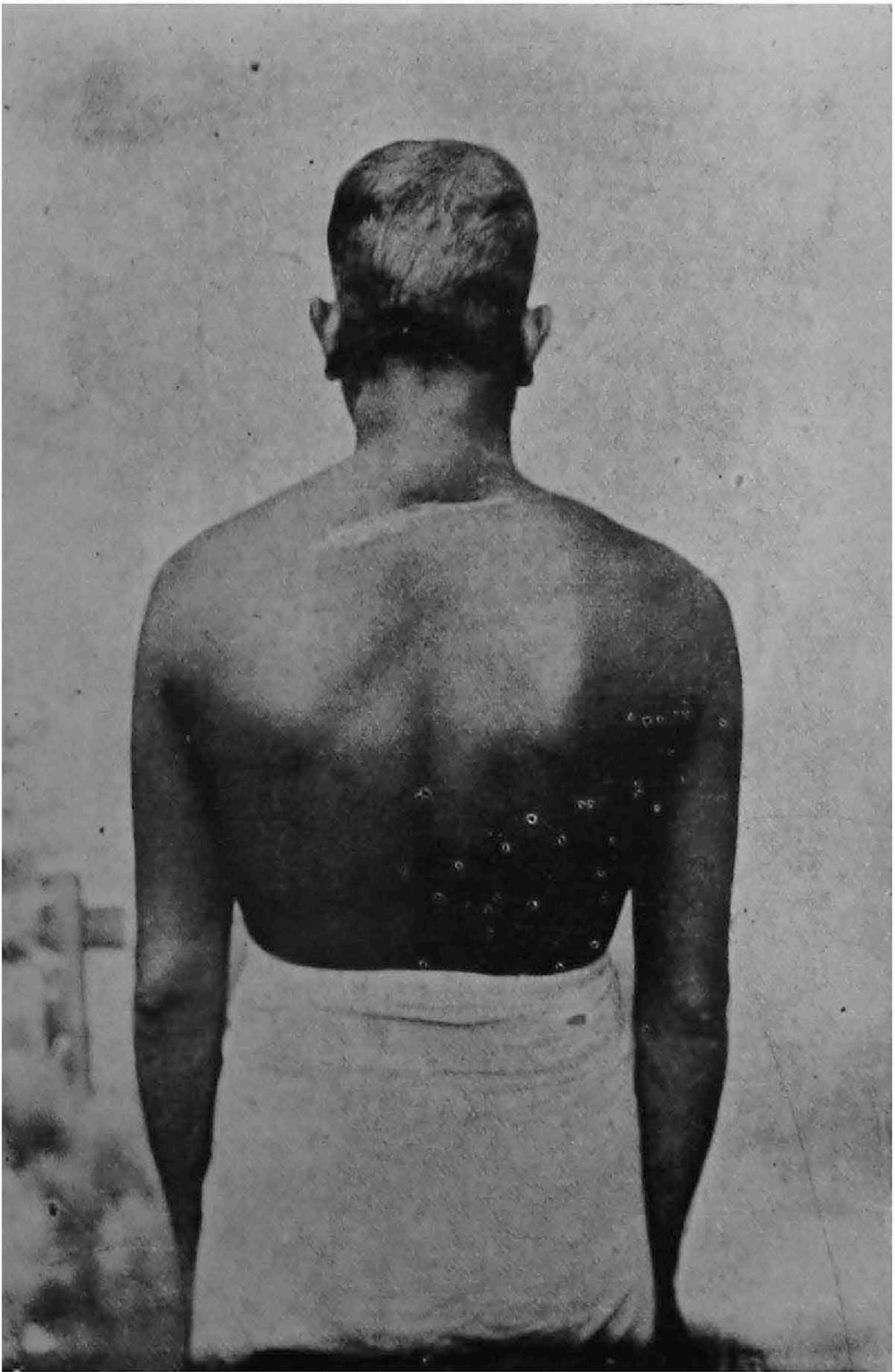
3. *Murder of Mr. Readman, Inspector of Police* On the night of 19th August, 1921, Mr. Lancaster, A. S. P., with Inspector Readman and a force of Police left Malappuram for Tirurangadi, but after going some eight miles, Mr. Readman was taken ill and had to be sent back in a cart, his orderly accompanying him. The Inspector reached Malappuram early on the morning of the 20th and feeling better after a little rest sought leave to rejoin his men at Tirurangadi, but the request was not granted at that time. In the afternoon, however, he was informed that he could go if he was of the same mind, and he got ready at once, and was put into the Collector's car, the chauffeur being the only other occupant. The car was followed by three empty lorries in the leading one of which was orderly Kunhali. After it had traversed the first eight miles from Malappuram, this lorry was held up by a rebel gang who attacked and killed the occupants. The car conveying Mr. Readman got as far as the ferry, 12 miles from Malappuram and within two miles of Tirurangadi, when it was attacked by rebels, and it was here that Mr. Readman was killed. (*Madras Mail* October 3. 1921.)

4. *An Orgy of Murder.* Avokker Musaliar, a rebel leader, established

himself with a large following in Muthumana Illom, in Puthur Amsom, Calicut Taluk in October and November 1921. Scores of Hindus were brought in from the country-side, some with their families. They were offered Islam. Such as accepted it were converted and detained or sent away at Musaliar's pleasure. Whoever refused Islam were incontinently and irrevocably ordered to be put to the sword. There is a sacred grove attached to the Illom and in it are a Serpent Shrine and a well. Condemned Hindus were marched to the shrine, beheaded and thrown into the well. Batches of victims were thus disposed of in this way and about 50 or 60 dead bodies were found in it. One of the Hindus named Kelappan had a most miraculous escape and has lived to tell the story. He received two sword cuts on the back of the head and neck and fell down. Others have had their heads completely severed but he escaped decapitation by sheer luck. The rebels did not suppose that any life was left in him and one of them dragged him by the legs and pitched him into the well.

The well was almost full with dead bodies. Kelappan who was flung on the top of them managed after two hours to haul himself up with the aid of a creeper which was hung down into the well and hid himself in the clump of trees. He was refreshed by a little rain and quitted the grove after night-fall and slowly and painfully dragged himself along for a distance of 8 or 9 miles supporting his head which was hanging in front. He was found next morning at 8 o'clock in an exhausted state and was sent to the hospital by the Sub Inspector. He was under treatment for a month. (Judgement in Case No. 32 A of '22 dated 29th July 22).

5. *Chembrasseri Tangal's Performances.* There is a well situated about midway between Tuvur and Karuvarakundu on the slope of a bare hillock. Here the Chembrasseri Tangal's followers about 4,000 in number from the neighbouring amsoms held a great meeting. The Tangal sat in the shadow of a small tree. More than 40 Hindus were caught by the rebels and taken to the Tangal with their hands tied behind their back. They were charged with the crime of helping the military against the rebels. Thirty-eight were condemned to death. Three are said to have been shot and the rest taken one by one to the well. Just at the brink there is a small tree. The executioner stood here and after cutting the neck with his sword pushed the body into the well. Many of the people who were thus thrown in were not dead. But escape was impossible. The sides of the well are cut in hard laterite rock and there are no steps. It is said that some people were crying out from the well even on the third day of the massacre. They must have died a peculiarly horrible death. At the time when this massacre was perpetrated it was the rainy season and there was some water in the well, but now it is dry. And any visitor can have a look at the gruesome sight. The bottom is entirely filled

with human bones. Pundit Rishi Ram, the Arya Samaj Missionary, who was standing by my side counted 30 skulls. One skull deserves particular mention. It is still seen divided neatly into two halves. This is said to be the skull of an old man named Kumara Panikkar, whose head was slowly cut into two by means of a saw.—E. RAMA MENON, B. A.

KELAPPAN WITH WOUNDS ON BACK AND HEAD. *page 56*

6. *The Mannur Holocast. Press Communique, Calicut, 14th November 1921.* In the rebel raid at Mannur and Tenhipalam which took place on the morning of the 9th instant definite information has now been received that 44 Hindu men, women and children were slaughtered by the rebels. The raid was purposeless as far as can be ascertained; the only possible object could have been loot.

7. *Rubber Estates* "The Moplah rebels looted the Police Station at Karuvarakundu and taking possession of arms and ammunitions, proceeded to Kerala and Pullengode. Messrs. Browne and Colbrooks got away safely, but only just in time. As soon as Mr. Browne left, the Moplah coolies looted all the bungalows and took away everything of value. They then proceeded to burn all bungalows, factories and other buildings, pull up bridges, and break down culverts. The destruction has been most thorough.

"The coolies then cleared out with the loot, and the mob finished the work of destruction and sent a strong party after Mr. Browne up the Silent Valley path. They traced them by orange peel and their heel marks. However, they did not get him, and he arrived in Ootacamund safely.

All the estates have suffered the same fate. (*Madras Mail.*)

8. Murder of Mr. Eaton :—Mr. Eaton took the most direct and usual route to Kerala to join Mr. Browne. He took his chokra and three dogs. All might have been well had it not been for the dogs barking at something. This betrayed them. The Chokra climbed a tree and saw Mr. Eaton done to death. He only had time to fire three shots from his revolver before being set on and kicked to death by his own coolies, being mocked and jeered at during the process with soch remarks as: "Did you not beat so and so? Then take that", and "Did you not do so and so? Then take that and that."

"After he was dead they decapitated him and took his head to the public road and placed in the centre thereof amid much demonstration, his body being thrown into the river. The Chokra was found by the Military during their operations. (*Madras Mail.*)

9. *The Nambudiri Sufferings* :—Over 700 Nambudiris, men, women and children of all ages and stages have sought refuge from the taluks of Ernad and Calicut and are now under the shelter of the Zamorin Rajah of Calicut. Many of them are reported to be staying at Mankavu and Chalapuram palaces. The illom of Cheruklol Nambudiri and the Chelri Madhan of Trikallore Devastanam were looted. Many illoms in the adjoining amsom of Karasseri were also destroyed or looted as also of Kanniparamba and Koorhakol amsoms, where even the houses of Nairs have not been spared. In addition to the above, Parapoor, Oograpur, Pulayakote, Sreekrishnapuram, Chathamangalam, Peruvembra, Koloti and Amritamangalam have suffered seriously.

Of the above, the events connected with Porkot Illom in Parapoor (Ernad Taluk) deserve mention. About 8 P.M. on the 21st about 600 rebels broke open the Nambudiri's house and a couple of them sat on the breast of Vasudevan Nambudiri, the hair-apparent, and held a sword to his neck commanding him to disclose the place where he had secured his valuables. On his telling them some of the rioters went upstairs and took possession of the whole and reported the receipt of the same to their comrades downstairs. The terror-stricken Nambudiri escaped to the adjoining forests. Report has it that his belongings were worth over Rs. 10,000/-

The next morning at about 7 o'clock the rebels took possession of Madhathal Illom and looted it after sunset. The same night they looted the Illoms of Vattapuzha, Kulangara, Theyeri and the next morning the Illoms of Palakkal, Kottakal and Thalethodi also on the 24th when the refugees were cooking in Nermangat temple on their way to Calicut, the rebels, who were fully armed, surrounded the temple before entering it, rooted out the idol, broke it to pieces and attempted to convert several of the refugees to Islam. The refugees narrowly escaped to the Zamorin's Palace. The temple of Eswaramangalam and almost all the Hindu houses in the same desom were looted. Several of the Nambudiri women who have arrived are without their inevitable upper cloth, cadjan umbrella or *Thali* (ornament). Vasudevan Nambudiri of Chuzhalipurath Mana in Pannikot amsom Calicut Taluk, whose illom was looted refused to change his faith and was murdered forthwith.

About 300 Moplah rioters, who seated themselves on the railway line adjoining Trikazhikkot Swami's Mutt, sent about ten among them to the Swami and demanded of Rs. 300/-, but withdrew on payment of Rs. 100/- with the promise of taking the balance, after the arrival of His Holiness' Agent. At night they appeared, again looted the whole Madham and made good their escape with cash, jewels and other valuables.

News of Nambudiris from Nilambur, Kottakal and Manakada is equally heart-rending. Some of the Nambudiri women and children who are supposed to have escaped are missing. Over 600 Moplahs arrived at 4. P. M. one day at the house of Vettath Orupulasseri Nambudiripad ordered him to open the safe, and carried away as much as they could. Another gang opened the granary and took paddy and vessels.

The looting lasted for about six hours.

At Parhingot Manakal, near Kalpakancheri a similar looting took place.

The house of Tirunavai Vadhyans, the High Priest of the Nambudiris was also attacked.

In Poomalli Mana a sum of Rs. 4,000/- was paid. The rioters are also reported to have looted a granary here and to have carried away 12,000 paras

of paddy.

In Chevoor Nambudiri's Illom the rioters were seen for four days, from the 20th to the 24th, and were given all that they demanded. The adjoining Atupurath Bhattethiripad was forced also to give up his Illom to the rioters.

In all the eight Illoms of Parappor Desom (Ernad Taluk) the rebels committed havoc, and the members of Pookotur Illom were the worst sufferers, having lost about Rs. 50,000/-. The rebels entered the temple belonging to these Nambudiris removed and broke the idol to pieces and killed a cow.

The Nambudiris of Thikkapuram Desom have taken shelter in the Mansata Palace as their Illoms were looted. The Nambudiris of Narass Mana, Payapulli Mana have also suffered and Rao Bahadur M. C. Krishna Varma Rajah of Mankata deserves a word of praise, for giving shelter and help to the refugees who have arrived there.

In Valiya Chemborni Mana (Ernad Taluk) about 25 Moplahs appeared for the first time on the 22nd and wanted one para of paddy, and Re. 1/-. Several such gangs followed at intervals of a few minutes. A very large gang that came finally told the owners not to bother themselves by repeated disbursements in small quantities and looted about 15,000 paras of paddy from the granary. Most of the rebels are reported to be the Nambudiris tenants. (*Madras Mail* 5th September '21.)

10. *Flayed Alive.* Several recent reports show that between Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and the Chembrasseri Tangal it has been decided that all Hindus residing in villages at the mercy of rebel bands, should be put to death unless they accept Islam. Instances are mentioned in which Hindus had actually been forced to dig their own graves before being butchered. It is also reported that diabolical reprisals are being perpetrated against all persons known or suspected of supplying provisions to the military and police, one report stating that the Chembrasseri Tangal had ordered a Hindu to be flayed alive for supplying troops with milk. In villages like Melattur, Melmuri, Karuvarakundu and Toovur, extermination of the Hindu population is being systematically carried on, but young women and girls who find favour with rebels, are forcibly carried away. Hundreds of Hindus are daily pouring into Malappuram, Wandur, Manjeri, Angadipuram, and other places where the presence or the proximity of troops and police offers security, but as provisioning of even military is not an easy problem, as many as possible of the unhappy fugitives are being passed on to Calicut, Palghat and elsewhere. (*Madras Mail* 4th October '21).

11. *Kerala Patrika, Wednesday, March 1, 1922.* The story of the death of Krishnan Nair will melt even the stoutest heart. He had rendered much help in arresting the rebels. This rankled in the mind of the Mopla and he was killed. First the skin was peeled off from his body, below the waist. He

had to suffer this pain for some time. Then his two legs were cut off from the body. He had to suffer pain from this for some time. Ultimately his neck also was cut off. Thus it was that he was done to death. The other two were soon hacked to pieces. The three brothers who remained, fled and saved themselves when these were nearing their end.

12. *Report of a refugee:—"A pregnant woman carrying 7 months was cut through the abdomen by a rebel and she was seen lying dead on the way with the dead child projecting out of the womb. Another, a baby of six months was snatched away from the breast of its own mother and cut into tuo pieces. (Extract from a report of Mr. Devadhar.)*

A respectable Nayar lady at Melatur was stripped naked by the rebels in the presence of her husband and brothers, who were made to stand close by with their hands tied behind. When they shut their eyes in abhorrence, they were compelled at the point of the sword to open their eyes and witness the rape committed by these brutes in their presence. (Extract from a report of Mr. Devadhar.)

13. *The Sack of Nilambur*:—Nilanıbur is the Head quarters of the wealthy and aristocratic family of Thacha rakavil Tirumulpad a ruling chief in the ancient days.

At 8 A. M. on Sunday August '21, at which hour most of the Kovilagam guards were away, the Moplahs of Pookotur arrived in a very large body, armed with guns, swords and war-knives and rushed to the palace gate. The small palace guard offered but feeble resistance. One of the men a washerman by caste, fired on the Moplahs killing one man. He cut another Moplah down, but he was soon overpowered by the Moplahs who hacked him to pieces. The rest of the guard escaped into an adjoining house but the Moplabs pursued and butchered all the inmates including two women and a child. Seventeen persons were killed and two dangerously wounded in this house. In the meanwhile, members of the Nilambur family took shelter and shut themselves inside the ladies, palace, with the exception of the Elaya Tirumulpad who stayed in his own bungalow with his family. The majority of the rebels went into the Senior Tirumulpad's palace, and destroyed everything they found there. Property worth Rs. 35,000 was destroyed besides the records for 8 years which were burnt. While the bulk of the rebels were engaged in this direction, a large mob rushed towards the ladies' palace, where men, women, and children, and servants and attendants numbering about 150 souls, had locked themselves in. Half a dozen doors were broken open by the rebels, and at last they reached the door of the building in which women and children had taken shelter. Meanwhile a rebel messenger came with some message which caused the gang to leave the ladies palace and rush off to that portion of that palace which was being destroyed. After completing the work of

destruction they went off in the direction of Pookotur, shouting and telling Nilambur people that they would return to the Kovilagam after looting the Manjeri treasury.

The whole of the family and servants were sent to the other side of the river into the forest. On the following day there was general looting and plunder all over the place and with the exception of the Kovilagam and about hundred houses which were guarded, all the neighbourhood was looted. (*Madras Mail* 17th September 21.)

STATEMENTS OF REFUGEES

14. *Padmanabhan, Adhikari, Puthur, Calicut* :—"The Moplahs systematically looted all the houses, some houses being also burnt and destroyed. All the temples in the neighbourhood, about a dozen in number, have been destroyed and the idols completely broken."

"Two of my uncle's sons and another relative and also 3 Cheruma servants were however caught by the Moplahs and killed. It is difficult to estimate the number of people killed. It cannot be less than 300. Two wells have been filled completely and a third, partly filled up with dead bodies."

Numerous women, chiefly Thiyyas, have been violated but it is impossible to give details. One women was captured along with her husband. The husband was beheaded and the women was raped.

15. *Vellakiri Kuttipurath Gopalan Nair, Puthur, Ernad*:—At about 8 P. M. on the 14th Kanni (24th Sept. '21) Moplahs about 300 in number forcibly entered the house. In the meanwhile Karunakaran Nair managed to come out with one chopper and a stick with a sword inside. He fought with the Moplahs and killed 4 of them and wounded some. Soon after he ran to the gate. At that time a Moplah threw a spear on his head which pierced through his neck and he fell down and died. Moplahs looted all the property. My three houses were looted and one house burnt to ashes. There is a temple also that belongs to us. This temple was destroyed. From Vengara Amsom about 20 men have been killed. About 60 Hindus have been converted. Besides mine there are two other temples also in Vengara. All of them have been destroyed and idols broken and cows slaughtered.

16. *Kaipadhthu Kunjunni Nair, Koduvayoor, Ernad* :—There are about 50 Hindu houses there. Out of these, three houses have been set fire to and the rest have been more or less destroyed. Seven persons have been killed and not less than fifty have been converted to Islam, Including small ones there are five temples in that Amsom and all of them have been destroyed and desecrated. Five young women to my knowledge have been ravished.

17. *Maniyil Paloli Krishnan Nair, Trippanissi, Ernad* :—I am 76 years old. The Moplahs compelled me to marry the poor woman who was staying with me and who is 56 years old. The marriage was performed according to

Muhammadan rites. The Moplahs told us if any of us reverted to Hinduism, so long as even a male or female babe was left alive, our lives would not be safe.

18. *Chembazi Kutty Krishnan Nair, Adhigari, Poruvallur, Ernad* :—There are altogether about 200 (two hundred) Hindu houses in my Amsom. All the houses have been looted. More than 50 Hindus including women and Children have been converted to Islam. About 8 Hindus have been killed. There are four temples in that Amsom. All of them have been destroyed and desecrated.

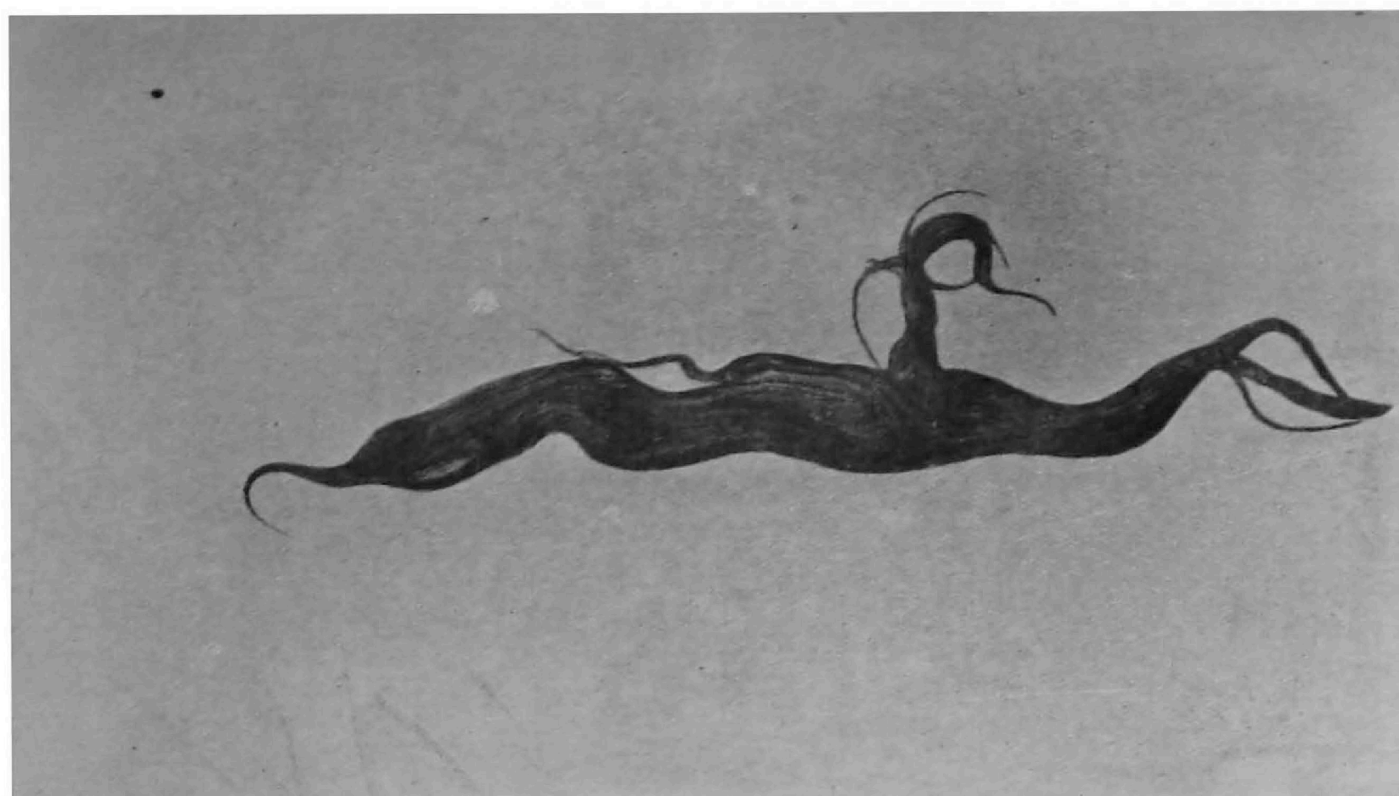
19. *Thiruthiyil Natuvancheri Narayanan Mussed, Adhigari, Valikunna, Emad* :—In my Amsom not less than one hundred houses have been looted and not less than 60 houses have been set fire to. I have got two temples in that Amsom. Both of them have been destroyed. In my Amsom several men and women and children have been murdered by Moplahs. Dead bodies of children and grown up men and women were floating in the river. A Hindu woman about 70 years old was burned to death, by setting fire to her thatched house. In that house there were 20,000 cocoanuts. The whole of them was burnt. All except the old women managed to run away. She could not run, and so she was burned to death.

20. *Puthukote Chathunni Nair, Puthur, Calicut.* On the 28th September the rebels came to my house. All my family people, except myself, fled in panic. As soon as they came, they tied my hands. My neighbour Thiyyerthotiyil Gopalan was also dealt with in the same way. The next day, Gopalan piteously cried to be allowed to see his mother. Then he was taken to the brink of a well in Nagalikavpurambu, on the western side of Muthumana Illom, and Gopalan was cut down, with a sword, by one of the rebels. The body was thrown into the well. I saw this with my own eyes. I consented to be converted to Islam. Then they made me recite some verses, in the Koran, and gave me some meals.

On the day I was converted, 6 men, belonging to the Pervayil and Chathamangalam amsoms were also converted. I saw two Nairs caught from Neeleswaram, and four Thiyyas caught from Kotuvalli being cut with the sword, on the brink of the before mentioned well belonging to the Kavu.

21. *Thelappurath Rama Kurup.* On the 8th Chingam (24th September) the Moplahs entered my house. They were about 60 or 70 Moplahs on the whole. Most of them were natives of that place and tenants. It was about 12 noon. They caught hold of me and stretched me on my back and placed the sword on several parts of my body and threatened to kill me. I cried out and called the name of Manpurath Thangal several times. Then one old Moplah asked them to leave me alone. All my moveables were removed and looted. I have sustained a loss of nearly Rs. 11,000. One of my temples also

was destroyed. The idols were taken away and destroyed. In my Amsom 5 temples were destroyed. No less than 40 Hindus were converted to Islam. One of the nieces of mine was converted. 15 persons were killed in my Amsom by Moplahs. Out of these 3 are women.

Since giving this statement, this Gentleman has committed suicide.

Heaps of Kuduma (hair tuft) removed during forcible conversion.
Found at Nirilamukh, Calicut taluk, placed against a wall and photographed.

22. *K. Govindan Nair, Adhikari, Thazhkode, Manasseri, Calicut.* In both these Amsoms together there are above 300 Hindu houses besides the huts of Cherumas. Without exception all the houses have been looted and all the moveables taken away by rebels. About 40 houses have been set on fire and burnt to ashes. In both the Amsoms together there are about 25 temples. Some of them have been burnt to ashes, others destroyed and idols broken and cows butchered in them. About the end of November on a single day 22 persons, all Hindus, were killed by Moplahs.

23. *Sankunni Unni Nair, Kannumangalam, Ernad.* All the Hindu houses in the Amsom were completely looted. As my people were the most important family in the neighbourhood the rebels wanted to convert them. They came provided with barbers and jackets etc., to convert them. But my family received timely warning from a Nair servant. The Moplahs being enraged at tbe disappointment pulled down part of my house and set fire to the house of the servant who gave us warning. My Tarwad has altogether suffered a loss of about Rs. 30,000. The Iringalath Vishnu Temple which belongs to me was destroyed and partly burnt. The idol was smashed to small bits.

24. *Madhathil Vishnu Nambudri, Vilayil, Ernad.* On the 22nd August, about 9 A. M., about 10 Moplahs came to my house; must of them are my neighbours and tenants. Gradually the rebels began to increase in number and by noon there were not less than 500 Moplahs. I sent away the women and children through the backdoor and when the Moplahs began to enter the house, I myself ran away. I lost about Rs. 15,000 worth of property in the beginning and subsequently my house worth about Rs. 20,000 was set fire to and destroyed; most of my records have been destroyed. I was in Vaikom till now and came to Calicut 4 days back. I have to get rice from this camp. I am now staying in Vattur Illom at Chalapuram.

25. *Ramunni Nair, Adhigari, Olakara, Emad.* On October 12th the rebellion spread to my Amsom in a serious form. Every Hindu house was looted of everything valuable. My amsom Kolkaran (peon), Chathu Nair, who did not flee, was beheaded. About half a dozen people have been killed and above 30 converted. All the cattle have been killed and slaughtered in the amsom. I have myself lost about 30 cows besides bullocks and buffalows.

26. *Mangalasseri Vishnu Nambudri, Peruvallur, Ernad.* I have four temples :—The Keravallur Bhagavathi temple—Karimkali Kavu, Ettaparambil Vishnu Kshetram, Aiyappan Kavu, and these temples have been partly destroyed and the idols have been dug up and removed. Among my dependants, five women and two men have been slain, 5 persons, two Nairs and three Thiyyas have been forcibly converted into Islam.

27. *Vilayil Chantamara Pishrodi, Adhikari Vilayil, Ernad.* There are nine Nambudri Illoms in that Amsom. Moplahs entered all the houses and

forcibly removed jewels of Nambudiri women; in the case of Nayar women also Moplahs did the same thing. All the women had to take shelter in the jungles and the Moplahs tried to hunt them out from the forests, but they did not succeed in finding them out. On the third day, Cheruvayur Amsom Adhikari's men came and rescued these women. There are six temples in the Amsom, all of them have been destroyed and desecrated and cows slaughtered in the premises and the idols were garlanded with the entrails and the skulls hung in various places in the temples. Six Hindus have been murdered and about 15 houses burnt by the rebels. About sixty persons were forcibly converted.[21]

28. *Gopalan Alias Parakat Mupil Nair, Cherur, Ernad.* The Moplahs entered my house, removed all the moveables entered the temple close by, which also belongs to me, converted the Embrandri there to Islam killed eight persons from the temple premises, three women and five men. All the idols were destroyed and cows killed in the temple. I had about 40 heads of cattle including cows and calves. Some were killed and others taken away. I have, on the whole, lost Rs. 12,000 worth of property by the Mopla rebellion. Not less than 40 Hindus were converted to Islam from that Amsom. There are five temples in my Amsom. All of them have been destroyed and desecrated.

[21] Note:—Chantamara Pisharodi has since been murdered.

APPENDIX X

a : H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

SIMLA SEPT. 3, 1921

THE MOPLAH REBELLION

"I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak, which may be said without exaggeration of language, to have assumed the character of a rebellion, because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates. I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance, by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The Police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals and the significance of the incident is that it was regarded as a defeat of the Police and therefore, of the Government. Additional troops and Special Police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press, and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the Military and Naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although, some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the Civil Government resumed.

But consider the sacrifice of life and property. A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted and records have been destroyed. Hindu temples have been sacked, the houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According

to reports, the Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of the Civil Government. Offices and Courts have ceased to function,—and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut and it is satisfactory to note that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The Non-Muslim in these parts was fortunate indeed that either he or his family or his house or property came near the protection of the soldiers and the Police.

The Extremists condemned :—Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and crime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. But apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor, unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime must follow. This outbreak is but another instance on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people, of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country, and gentlemen, I ask myself and you and the country generally, what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of the masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory and too often deliberately false statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement paralysed authority persistently and as I believe, in all earnestness and sincerity preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has even reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet, again and again, it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded when passions are excited as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To those who are responsible for the peace and good Government of this great Empire, and I trust, to men of sanity and common sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of Government and constituted authority can only result in, widespread disorder, in political chaos and in anarchy, and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the leaders of the movement or at least of one section of it, may take the form of even a more direct challenge to law and order.

A clear warning :—There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law and in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have been made by some fanatic followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's

soldiers and the police from their allegiance and attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect (peaceful and law abiding) citizens and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations. And above all we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, as it is the interest of all who wish to live peaceful lives, with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose, publicly a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities, and to help the officers of the Goveroment in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder, and I and my colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and remedy the grievances of the people of India. (*Madras Mail*, 5th September '21).

b : Statement by Sir W. Vincent

(COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATE.)

Simla, September 5

MOPLAH FANATICISM

Sir William Vincent, on behalf of the Government said, that the real truth of the origin of the outbreak was that the Moplahs were ignorant, many of them poor and nearly all of them fanatical and entirely under the influence of a bigoted priesthood. As he understood them, many of them were descendants of Arab traders and soldiers, and after their entry in Malabar they began the conversion of students there to Muhamadanism. At the end of the rising in 1885, 20,000 arms, including 9,000 guns were recovered. The present rising appears to have been purely fanatical, though he had no doubt it had been accentuated by economic distress, ordinarily resulting in keen agrarian troubles but he had no information to lead him to believe that the Hindu landlords were responsible for this rising. There was no sympathy for the non-co-operation movement as such, because the Moplahs had little feeling for Mr. Gandhi's personality. Judging from the recent events there was certainly no sympathy for the movement of non-violent non-co-operation because the greatest violence had been committed! *Volunteer Organisations* :—At the beginning of this year, there were certain speeches delivered and these had a considerable effect on the fanatical population of Malabar, which was singularly prone to out-breaks. In June there were reports of Volunteer organisations, and these organisations were going on secretly. In July there were provoking speeches on the Khilafat question which combined with the

resolution of the All-India Khilafat Conference held in Karachi produced an impression among the Moplahs that the end of the British rule was at hand. The first instance of lawlessness was in that month. When the Police Officers went to arrest a man who was concerned in the breaking into the bouse of a Nambudiri, a large number of Moplahs arrived, and there was serious danger of a riot which was however averted. The Police at that time were powerless, and the Moplahs considered themselves victorious. Under the Moplah Outrages Act, the Government arrested three men and there was no trouble, but a party of police was left to search others. In the course of this search, certain Moplah Policemen after taking off their shoes, entered a Mosque. This information spread around, and a large force of Moplahs collected apparently to attack the police, but the attack was beaten off, he regretted to say, with loss of two officers. By this time, railway and telegraph communications had been cut off, and the outbursts of fanaticism in Tirurangadi that developed into a general rising worked up in Malabar, where Swaraj was declared and green flags hoisted on the offices, Mobs of five to ten thousand were going about in small gangs, destroying rail-roads, harassing Hindus, especially high class Hindus and Nairs, whose houses they looted and whom they occasionally murdered. The total casualties were one British Officer and three British other ranks killed, one British Officer and three British other ranks wounded, two Assistant Superintendents of Police, one Inspector, and two Head Constables killed and one Constable murdered. Others narrowly escaped. Government could not be sure as to the actual death-roll among the people, but numerous Hindus had been murdered and some had been forcibly converted, under threat of death, to Muhammadanism. He understood that a Retired Inspector of Police was murdered, his head was cut off from the trunk, a spear was thrust into it, and it was taken through the streets. Temples had been desecrated and defiled.

Moplah Casualties :—Regarding the Moplah casuaIties, Sir William Vincent could give no figures, except that at Pookotur 400 had been killed, press reports indicated approximately 1,000 deaths. The figures he had quoted about Pookotur were by no means over-estimated, because the fight there lasted five hours.

The whole Moplah rising seems to be due to the preachings of extremist Khilafat agitators. But the Government had no reason to believe that things would develop seriously. If the Government had previously resorted to any measures, it would have been considered a campaign of repression. Now Sir Manackjee asked the Government why they did not take stringent measures before. Surely the Council could not have it both ways. Last autumn when he stood up in the house, there was not a single man except perhaps one or two who asked the Government to take stringent measures. The Government

of Madras were about to prosecute a certain individual in May for a speech delivered at Erode, but just then there was a meeting between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, and rightly or wrongly the Government of India thought that it was only fair to give that gentleman *Locus Penitentiae* in the hope that he would abstain from preaching violence. Unless the Council and Legislative assembly were prepared to vote considerably larger sums of money than they had done at present for the internal defence of the country it was difficult to deal with risings of this character. As to the present position, he could say that all possible measures had been taken, and the situation was now well in hand. All possible measures had been taken not to prevent any unnecessary force, or anything which could be considered as severe, and instruction had been given to Military Officers not to cause any bitterness or humiliation, even though there might be rebellion. In conclusion, the Home member said, he wished to convey to the people, in Malabar, the sympathy and the regret of the Council and the Government for the lives lost, temples desecrated, and for insult and injuries to persons and property, appreciation of the services to the Naval and Military and all officers of the Crown and sympathy to the Madras Government.

c : The Governor's Speech

The Madras Legislative Council met at 11 A. M. 1st Sept. 1921 in the Council chamber and there was a fairly large attendance. Sir P. Rajagopala Chariyar presided.

H. E. THE GOVERNOR

H. E. the Governor adressed the Council as follows:—Mr. President and honourable members,—Before the commencement of the ordinary business of the day, I think that honourable members may expect me to make some statement to them concerning the present situation in Malabar and in other parts of this Presidency, including our own city of Madras.

As regards Malabar, since martial law has been declared and the military are engaged in the task of restoring law and order, it is not proper for me to go into details. But I wish to emphasise the fact that it was the mere attempt on the part of the district authorities to enforce ordinary process of law that was signal for a sudden and wide spread outbreak of violence directed in the first place against Government, their officers and the whole apparatus of civil administration. Over a wide tract of country, in an incredibly short space of time, communications of all kinds were wrecked or obstructed, public offices and courts were attacked, and their records destroyed. Police stations were plundered of their arms and ammunition, and civil government was brought

to a complete stand still. As a natural consequence, excesses followed of which private persons were the victims. Though accurate and complete particulars are in the nature of the case impossible to ascertain at present, there can, I fear, be little doubt that the numerous reports of arson, extortion, robbery and even murder are only too true.

The suddenness and the extent of the conflagration point irresistibly to the existence of a wide spread and dangerous organisation whose leaders were only watching for an opportunity to attempt by violence to overthrow the existing government and to exploit for that purpose the religious fanaticism of the Moplah. It may be said that government have been remiss in not taking precautionary measures in advance. To that I would reply that the settled policy has been as far as possible to avoid exciting public opinion, in the hope that the effect of the reforms would be gradually to defeat revolutionary agitations. While we admit that at first, our forces were inadequate, I should like to express the grateful thanks of Government to the naval and military authorities for the promptitude and rapidity with which they responded to our appeals for assistance. It is unnecessary for me to say, as head of the Government, how deeply we deplore the terrible loss of life which has already occurred, not only among military and police officers and men but also among peaceful and law-abiding citizens. We deplore, too, the loss of life among the Moplahs, ignorant and misguided dupes of unscrupulous agitators. Our deepest sympathy must also go out in full measure to all those who have been bereaved or left homeless through this outbreak, and the honourable members may rest assured that the Government are resolved to make the fullest use of all the resources at their disposal to restore law and order and to punish the guilty.

Serious as the position is in Malabar, I feel it's my duty to warn honourable members that it is not Malabar alone that gives Government grave cause for anxiety. Throughout the Circars and more particularly in the deltaic district the same insidious propaganda has been at work, undermining constituted authority, preaching race hatred and seeking to instil into the masses, impatience of and contempt for constitutional authority.

In the Presidency town itself labour disputes, the merits of which we need not consider to-day have developed under the same malignant influences a chronic state of hostility between Muhammadans and Hindus on the one hand and the Adi-Dravidas on the other, which has led to a series of deplorable conflicts, accompanied by loss of life and the destruction of property and necessitating the repeated intervention of the forces of the Crown.

The duty of the Government is clear. We are resolved to enforce the observance of law and order in all parts of the Presidency, and shall support our district officers, if necessary with military assistance, in all legal mea-

sures they may have to take to ensure to our peaceful, loyal and law-abiding citizens, safety for their lives and property and security in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations.

Responsibility of Non-officials:—I have spoken of the duty of Government, but on honourable members, too, rests a responsibility. In my speech at the last meeting of the old council I pointed out how the propaganda which is associated with the name of Mr. Ghandhi must inevitably culminate in chaos and disorder. I myself did not then foresee how soon my forebodings would be justified.

I then spoke of the great experiment on which we were embarking. Not the least important object of the recent constitutional reforms was to lead the people of this country to identify themselves more closely with the government. A crisis like the present affords an acid test of the extent to which this object has been attained. It largely depends on every honourable member, and on his attitude at the present moment whether that experiment should be hailed as a success or condemned as a failure. But it is not enough that we should feel assured of their benevolent intentions. Your intentions must be translated into action. To you, as men of light and leading in your respective communities, I appeal, with all the earnestness at my command to rally to the Government, to organise an effective counter propaganda and to do all that in you lies to refute misinterpretations of the actions and motives of Government, and to encourage the people in resisting this intolerable terrorism which is the very antithesis of true liberty.

I have expressed to Hon'ble Members very clearly and very frankly my view on the serious state of things that exists in our midst at the present time. For the credit of our Presidency, and for its progress and prosperity in the future I confidently rely on all loyal and right thinkings citizens, whatever their race or community, to assist the Government in defeating the forces of disorder amongst us, and in securing that our Province goes forward by sure and constitutional steps till she gains the goal of responsible Government and assist the country to become in every sense an equal partner in the great Commonwealth of Nations which calls itself the British Empire. (*Madras Mail, dated 1st Sept. '21*)

d : Mr. Gandhi's Speech

Mr. Gandhi addressed a public meeting on 15th September 1921 evening on the Triplicane Beach, Madras.

THE MOPLAH REBELLION

It was open to the Government, as powerful as they were, to invite the

Ali Brothers and the speaker to enter the disturbed area in Malabar and to bring about calm and peace there. Mr. Gandhi was sure that if this had been done much of the innocent blood would have been spared and also the desolation of many a Hindu household. But he must be forgiven if he again charged the Government with a desire to incite the population to violence. There was no room in this system of Government for brave and strong men, and the only place the Government had for them was the prisons, He regretted the happenings in Malabar. The Moplas who were undisciplined had gone mad. They had thus committed a sin against the Khilafat and their own country. The whole of India today was under an obligation to remain non-violent even under the gravest provocation. There was no reason to doubt that these Moplahs were not touched by the spirit of Non-co-operation. Non-co-operators were deliberately prevented from going to the affected parts. Assuming that all the strain came through Government Circles and that forced conversions were true, the Hindus should not put a strain on the Hindu-Moslem Unity and break it. The speaker was however not prepared to make such an assumption. He was convinced that a man who was forcibly converted needed no "Prayaschitham." Mr. Yakub Hassan had already told them that those who were converted were inadmissible into the fold of Islam and had not forfeited their rights to remain in the Hindu fold. The Government were placing every obstacle in the way of the Congress and Khilafat workers to bring relief to desolate homes and were taking no pains to carry relief themselves. Whether the Government gave them permission or not it was their clear duty to collect funds for the relief of sufferers and see that these got what they required.

They did not yet know fully what measures the Government were going to take to repress the strength and rising of the people in this land. He had no reasons to disbelieve the testimony given to him yesterday that many young men were insulted because they wore Khaddar caps and dress. The keepers of the peace in India had torn Khaddar vests from young men and burned them. The authorities in Malabar had invented new measures of humiliation if they had not gone one better than those in the Punjab. (*Madras Mail, dated 16th September 1921.*)

APPENDIX XI : Details of Suspension of Sentence and Fine

VIDE CHAPTER III

In chapter III the details of conviction, suspension and fines have been given up to the end of October, 1922.

Information up to 31'st March 1923 is given below.

1. Number of persons whose sentence was suspended under suspension scheme 12,842
2. Total amount of fine inflicted Rs. 12,04,232
3. Total amount collected Rs. 2,93,821
4. Number of persons pending trial 221.

Information as to the number of persons convicted up to 31-3-'23 of offences committed in connection with the rebellion is not available, but the number of prisoners in jail on 19th April 1923, excluding those transported to the Andamans was 7900.

Appeal

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